Published Monthly 5 Cents a Copy

Vol. VI. JUNE, 1915 No. 6

The Woman Voter

VOTE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

NOVEMBER 2nd, 1915

WORKING MEN—WORKING WOMEN—TOGETHER!

METROPOLITAN DYE WORKS

WEIGLE & FUNKE

Cleaners and Dyers

OFFICES
114 WEST 39th STREET
140 EAST 49th STREET
771 THIRD AVENUE
674 MADISON AVENUE
1500 THIRD AVENUE
BRONX and 180th STS.

Telephone Connections

FIRST CLASS WORK
REASONABLE PRICES
PROMPT DELIVERY

OFFICES
362 COLUMBUS AVE.
514 AMSTERDAM AVE.
2515 BROADWAY
2645 BROADWAY
45 EAST 125th STREET
591 WEST 181st STREET

Telephone Connections

Works: WEST FARMS :: NEW YORK CITY

Telephone, 84 Tremont

THE **IVY** CORSET

"Designed by a Woman Who Knows"

The New IVY Spring & Summer Models are Here

Medium high of bust, long over hips, straight in front, nipped-in at the sides—and NO BACK CURVES.

—

FASHION SAYS THEY ARE THE CORSET.

$ 2.00
$ 3.00
$ 3.50
$ 5.00
$ 6.00
$ 7.50
$ 8.50
$10.00
$12.50
$15.00
$20.00
to
$50.00

We are the first to show these exceptional models
Fittings momentarily or by appointment.

MOLLIE MAYERS
IVY CORSET STORE
No. 392 5th Ave. (at 36th St.) New York

Life and Labor

Published by the National Women's Trade Union League of America
Room 901, 127 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

LIFE AND LABOR is the Working Woman's Magazine

DO YOU WANT TO KNOW—
The Conditions of Her Toil?
Her Need of Self-Protection in the Shop?
Her Struggle for a Living Wage?

If so, subscribe for LIFE AND LABOR. In it you will find world news of her achievements—through Labor Organization—through Legislation—through the Ballot.

Help in this effort by sending your subscription today.

Single copy 10c. *Subscription $1.00 per year*

LIFE AND LABOR
127 N. Dearborn St. - - Chicago, Ill.

For Directory of Advertisers this month see Page 4

THE WOMAN VOTER

PUBLISHED BY

The Woman Suffrage Party, New York City

FLORENCE WOOLSTON, Editor

Campaign Editor, ANNE O'HAGAN SHINN — Art Editor, IDA S. PROPER
Assembly District Editor, ADALINE W. STERLING — Labor Editor, SARAH RUSH PARKS
MELINDA FOSTER, Assistant Editor

VOL. VI. **JUNE, 1915.** **No. 6.**

CONTENTS

Cover—Working Men-Working Women Together! E. C. Bolles
Heading—Prize Campaign Poster . . . 5 Rueben R. Purcell
Suffrage and the Constitutional Convention . 5
Working Women and the Ballot . . . 6 Melinda Scott
Appeal to Organized Men 7
Schools for Citizenship . . . . . 8 Margaret Dreier Robins
Organized Labor Is for Woman Suffrage . 9 John Mitchell
New York Labor Leaders 9
Women and Government . . . . . 10 Samuel Gompers
Industrial Democracy . . . . . 11 Leonora O'Reilly
The Woman Movement and the Working Women . . . . . 11 Rose Schneiderman
Suffragists and Trade Unionists . . . 12 Mary Dreier
Wage Earners and Citizenship . . . 13 Maud Nathan
Among the Delegates 14
Winning the Labor Vote . . . . . 16 Sarah Rush Parks
The "Protected Sex" in Industry . . . . 17 George Creel
With Our Allies—the Antis 19
Does a Woman Need a Vocation? . . 20 Rose Young
The Woman Suffrage Party . . . . . 21 Adaline W. Sterling

THE WOMAN VOTER
48 East 34th Street **New York City**

Subscription price yearly, 50 cents — Single copy, 5 cents
Tel., 6310 Murray Hill — Advertising rates on application

ELSIE ROLLINS, Business Manager

Entered as Second Class Matter at New York, N. Y., Post Office. *Copyright, 1915 by Woman Suffrage Party. All rights reserved.*

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

151,688 Members in Greater New York

THE Woman Suffrage Party of Greater New York is organized to win votes for women in 1915.

It follows the regular political party plan, having a leader in every one of the 63 Assembly Districts and a Captain in each Election District of the city.

Its purpose is to enroll the name and enlist the support of every resident of New York City who believes in equal suffrage and will uphold the referendum in 1915.

If you believe in the principles of democracy this is the time to make it known. Come and work with us for Victory in 1915. The Woman Suffrage Party has no dues. To join, simply send your name and address to Headquarters at 48 East Thirty-fourth St. *Do it to-day.* This is the home-stretch, and success is in sight.

The Woman Suffrage Party, New York City

HEADQUARTERS:
48 East 34th Street, New York City.

BROOKLYN:
27 Lafayette Avenue.

BRONX:
3rd Avenue, Corner 149th Street.

OFFICERS:

Honorary Chairman, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.
Chairman, Miss Mary G. Hay, 2 West 86th Street.
Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Martha Wentworth Suffren, 68 Buckingham Road, Brooklyn.
Secretary, Mrs. Harriet Wells, 46 West 9th Street.
Treasurer, Mrs. Margaret Chanler Aldrich, 317 West 74th Street.

MANHATTAN BOROUGH.
Chairman, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, 6 E. 66th St.

BROOKLYN BOROUGH.
Chairman, Mrs. H. Edward Dreier, 35 Remsen St...

BRONX BOROUGH.
Chairman, Mrs. Henrietta Seeley, 2184 Bathgate Ave.

QUEENS BOROUGH.
Chairman, Mrs. Alfred J. Eno, Queens, Long Island.

RICHMOND BOROUGH.
Chairman, Mrs. William G. Willcox, 115 Davis Avenue, West New Brighton.

DIRECTORS:
Manhattan, Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe.
Brooklyn, Mrs. Cornelia K. Hood.
Bronx, Mrs. Robert A. McGregor.
Queens, Mrs. Joseph Fitch.
Richmond, Mrs. Andrew J. Newbury.

If you find a yellow slip in your magazine please renew promptly

ONCE you use part Karo (Crystal White) in your preserving syrup instead of all sugar you begin to gain a confidence in results you never felt before.

For strawberries, the summer fruits, peaches and pears—the syrup made with Karo (Crystal White) blends perfectly with the fruit and brings out the natural flavor.

Such a syrup keeps jams and jellies smooth and prevents sugaring or crystallizing.

Ask your grocer for a Karo Preserving Book—*or drop us a post card with your name and address, and we will mail you a copy, free.*

Write for your FREE copy of Karo Preserving Book to

CORN PRODUCTS REFINING COMPANY
Dept. Z, NEW YORK P. O. Box 161.

Quality Dominates

BORDEN'S

Grade A Milk

Pasteurized, Bottled and Sealed in the Country

This milk combines the elements of cleanliness, safety and richness to a degree that satisfies the most exacting requirements.

10 Cents a Quart

CALL ANY BORDEN WAGON

Borden's Condensed Milk Co.

108 Hudson Street
Phone Franklin 5360

ARE YOU a good SUFFRAGIST? Then we know you are helping us to your utmost. We have already had wonderful co-operation from our subscribers and we just want to ask you to keep up the good work. No matter if your purchase is a very tiny one, don't forget those all-important words, "The Woman Voter." It's a good by-word to pass around anyway, for it can't be said too often. As well as helping along our advertising, you often learn another's viewpoint, and it gives you an opening to speak a good word for the CAUSE.

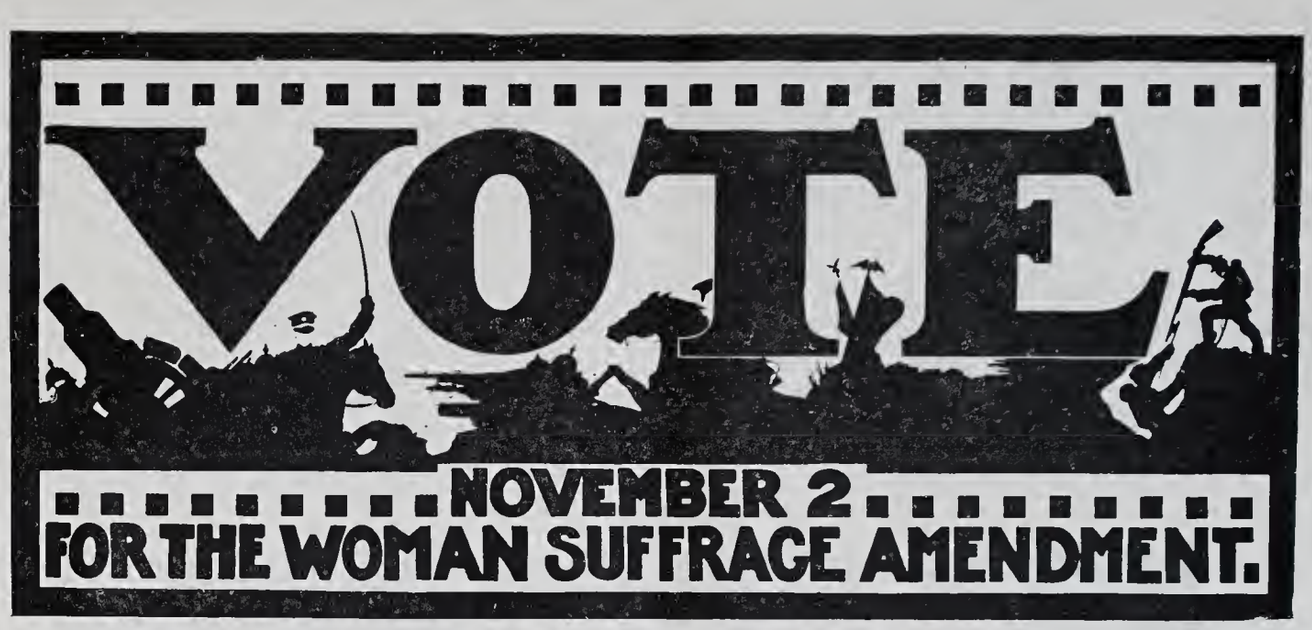
Directory of Advertisers This Month

CONVENTION—
National Woman's Trade Union League . Page 25
CORSETS—
The Ivy Corset—Mollie Mayers . . Page 2
DRESS SHIELDS—
The C. E. Conover Co. . . . . Page 27
DRY GOODS—
Franklin Simon & Co. . . . . Page 28
DYEING AND CLEANING—
Metropolitan Dye Works . . . Page 2
FACE POWDER—
Exora Face Powder . . . . Page 27
HOTEL—
Martha Washington . . . . . Page 27
LINEN SHOP—
James McCutcheon & Co. . . . Page 27
MAGAZINES—
Life and Labor Page2
MILK—
Bordens . . . . . Page 4
PRESERVATIVE—
Karo—Corn Products Refining Co. . Page 4
PRINTERS—
Davie Press . . . . . Page 27
Smith & Brown . . . . . Page 25
PUBLIC STENOGRAPHER AND NOTARY PUBLIC—
Miss Margaret M. Murphy . . . . Page 25
SCHOOLS—
The Language Phone Method . . Page 25

Vote for

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

November 2, 1915



Prize Poster. *R. R. Purcell*

THE WOMAN VOTER

JUNE, 1915

SUFFRAGE AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

SINCE the question of the woman suffrage amendment and the Constitutional Convention has been so widely discussed in the daily papers, members of the Party have been anxious to know the exact status of our bill.

The problem in brief is this: The Legislatures of 1913 and 1915 passed a resolution providing for an amendment to the Constitution which should remove the existing discrimination against women. The bill was satisfactory to the Empire State Campaign Committee and the suffragists of New York. Under ordinary conditions, this amendment would come before the voters in November, and if ratified, the women of this State would be enfranchised.

With a Constitutional Convention in session, however, the situation is complicated. According to a provision in our present Constitution, regulating amendments submitted coincidently by the Legislature and the Constitutional Convention, a Legislative amendment would be superseded by a Constitutional Amendment, but not supplanted by it. Therefore, if this Convention submits a woman suffrage resolution, two woman suffrage amendments will appear on the ballot. This would cause confusion and jeopardize the safe passage of both amendments.

The Empire State Campaign Committee and the suffragists of New York prefer to have but one woman suffrage amendment on the ballot, and they wish that amendment to be the one passed by the Legislatures of 1913 and 1915.

However, if the Convention takes no action on the matter, an amendment passed separately by the voters in November would not be legal unless the new Constitution had made provision for it.

Therefore, it is the desire of the Empire State Campaign Committee and the suffragists of New York, that the Convention make it possible to have the Legislative woman suffrage amendment presented as a separate amendment, and at the same time have it made legal, if adopted, as part of the new Constitution if that Constitution be adopted by the voters. Should the proposed new Constitution be rejected, and the woman suffrage amendment be adopted, it automatically becomes part of the old Constitution.

In order to meet this desire of the suffragists, Mr. Herbert Parsons introduced a resolution providing for three things: First—That the Constitutional Convention ignore the suffrage question. Second—That the Convention do no tinkering with Section 1, Article II, of the Constitution, which defines the qualifications of voters. Third—That the Convention provide for the separate submission of the woman suffrage amendment.

In an interview given to *The New York Times,* Mr. Parsons explained the purpose of his resolution.

"I drew up my resolution," he said, "to clear the air. The first clause provides that the Constitutional Convention 'shall propose no amendment to the Constitution on the matter of woman suffrage.' The reason for this was that its passage would make the way clear for the submission to the people of the amendment of the Legislature.

"Section 2 of my resolution provides that Section 1, Article II (describing the qualifications of voters) shall not be submitted in the new Constitution in complete form. That is to serve as a permanent answer to all inquirers, and to the courts, as to the convention's intentions. I wrote the clause to forestall any chance for a quibble to be carried to the courts. I know it would be possible to hold that the adoption by the Constitutional Convention of the present clause providing for 'male suffrage' would automatically count out the woman suffrage amendment if it should win at the polls. I do not hold this view, but my resolution was drawn expressly to repudiate such a view and make it impossible to advance it later in a court test.

"Clause 3 of my resolution provides that if there is any desire in the Constitutional Convention to amend Section 1 of Article II of the present Constitution the convention shall do it in such a way as not to make its action determinative pro or con, of the woman suffrage matter.

"This clause I drew so that the Convention may have full freedom of action in regard to the length of time a voter shall live in his district. Someone might bring in an amendment changing the time from thirty days to sixty days. Then later, in the courts, somebody might claim that since the Convention treated this section and amended a part of it the Convention clearly meant to settle the woman suffrage matter. We spike that claim in advance of any court test.

"The resolution was drawn entirely to make clear the route of progress to both sides. It was drawn in strict conformity with platform pledges, and was not meant to favor one side or the other, but was meant to keep the situation clear."

Senator Root, president of the Convention, appointed the following delegates members of the Suffrage Committee:

Mr. Cullinan, Chairman; Mr. Stowell, Mr. Waterman, Mr. Nye, Mr. Owen, Mr. Eggleston, Mr. C. J. White, Mr. Mealy, Mr. Baumes, Mr. R. E. Weber, Mr. Williams, Mr. J. G. Saxe, Mr. Dooling, Mr. Newburger, Mr. Frank, Mr. Eisner, Mr. Kirk.

On May 5th, at Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt's request, the Suffrage Committee of the Constitutional Convention met with representative suffragists for a conference in the Senate Chamber. There was an informal discussion of the situation. Suffragists were assured that undoubtedly the Convention would order that there be no interference with the effective submission of the Legislative amendment.

Between now and June 11th, when all resolutions are supposed to have been presented, undoubtedly many resolutions which may affect our measure will be introduced. They will be referred to the Woman Suffrage Committee. We have confidence that this Committee has a full understanding of the desires of the Campaign Committee, and we are confident that they will secure the submission and vote of the amendment that was passed by the Legislature of 1915, and that it will go before the voters as a separate amendment made effective by resolution of the Convention.

WORKING WOMEN AND THE BALLOT

THE Fifth Biennial Convention of the National Women's Trade Union League, which opens in New York on Monday, June 7th, at 43 East 22nd Street, with delegates from Boston, Chicago, Kansas City, St. Louis, Springfield, Ill., Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York City will meet to discuss their different industrial problems.

The women attending this Convention have done things through their trade unions. They have improved their conditions of work and their wages; they have established democracy in their workshops and know that only by standing together united that they are a power and force which must be reckoned with The organized women of the labor movement are no longer considered as machines or parts of machinery they have made it possible through organization to demand that they be allowed to grow and to develop as live, thinking human beings.

These women realize fully that upon them as workers rests the responsibility of working out their own salvation and raising the standard of living for all workers, because organized or unorganized we stand or fall together. These women have learned through their trade unions the value and strength of industrial organization and realize what their power would be if they were organized politically. Women are handicapped without the ballot just as working men were handicapped before they were enfranchised. The working women need the trade unions and political organization to back up industrial organization. They could obtain through legislation the appointment of women labor commissioners, and factory inspectors, whose duty it would be to work for the interest of women and children. Disenfrancisement helps to keep women's wages down.

The lack of direct political influence is one of the great reasons that women are underpaid and in many cases work longer hours than men. If women had the ballot and had representatives in Albany alive to the need of a shorter work day for women, knowing that women's work in the majority of cases is not done when she leaves the store, factory or office,—think you it would have been up to the Governor of this, the Empire State, to veto the bill passed by the legislators condemning women to the drudgery of a 72-hour week in the Canning Industry,—or would they have allowed the wholesale slaughtering of the Workmen's Compensation Bill? We do feel confident that the women would not have voted in favor of "BIG BUSINESS" as against "JUSTICE and RIGHT." If women had the ballot we would work for a Universal Child Labor Law and a Universal Eight-Hour Day for all workers.

All suffragists and working women are invited to attend the Convention and hear the message of organization which will be given by active workers in the great labor movement.

MELINDA SCOTT

President New York Women's Trade Union League

CONVENTION PROGRAM

Opening Session on Monday, June 7th, at 10 A. M., at Women's Trade Union League Headquarters, 43 East Twenty-second Street, New York. Everybody welcome.

Mass Meeting at Cooper Union, Monday evening, June 7th, at 7.30 o'clock. Miss Melinda Scott, President New York Women's Trade Union League, Presiding Officer. Mr. George W. McAneny, Acting Mayor, will welcome the delegates. Speakers: Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor; Mrs. Raymond Robins, President National Women's Trade Union League; Congressman Meyer London; Mr. Hugh Frayne, Organizer American Federation of Labor; Miss Mary E. Dreier, Chairman Convention Committee. Labor Songs.

Daily Sessions at League Headquarters, beginning 10 A. M. Open to the Public.

Woman Suffrage Party, automobile ride for delegates, followed by reception at Headquarters, 48 East Thirty-fourth Street, 4 to 6. Everybody welcome. Speaking by trade unionists and suffragists.

The American labor movement stands committed for equality of opportunity, for equal work, whether performed by men or women. It also stands for equal rights before the law, and that implies equal suffrage in the selection of those who shall administer and execute the law.

SAMUEL GOMPERS
President, American Federation of Labor

Appeal to the Organized Working Men of New York

In 1915 the voters of New York State will decide whether women shall have the right to vote.

There is no time to waste; we need your help, your active support.

As we women have no voice in the government, you men alone can decide this question for us. Each one of you must vote yes or no.

The Trade Union organizations are on record for votes for women. But it is one thing to be on record for votes for women and another to work actively for it so as to make it a living fact. This we ask you to do now.

We work side by side with you in the factories.

We vote with you in our trade unions. We strike with you when you strike. We bear with you the cost and suffering of the strike. You men know that we women know how to stick to the bitter or victorious end of the struggle.

As organized working women we want to better conditions as much as you do. We realize, as you do, that we must better them for the sake of our children and ourselves. Women are handicapped without the ballot as working men were handicapped before they were enfranchised.

In every department of life, be it in the factory or in the home, the ballot is of the utmost importance today. To secure decent factories we need the ballot. To abolish the sweated trades the ballot is needed. To wipe out child labor the ballot is essential. In our homes as wives, mothers, daughters, we need the ballot to do justice to our work as home-keepers.

Children need pure milk and pure food, good schools and playgrounds, sanitary homes and safe streets. To secure these we go to the City Hall and the State House where votes and only votes count.

The housekeeping in our homes is tied up with the housekeeping in the City, State and Nation.

Together we working men and women can effectively use the ballot for those things that vitally affect our lives.

The ballot is needed to make good laws.

The ballot is needed to enforce the laws.

The ballot is needed to put men into office to work for our interests as workers.

We ask you in the name of the organized working women and the less fortunate unorganized women to work unceasingly to secure Votes for Women in 1915.

SUFFRAGE RESOLUTION

Adopted by the New York Women's Trade Union League

WORKING MEN!

YOU WERE DISFRANCHISED UNTIL 1826

DO you know, Working Men of New York, that until 1826 only men who owned real and personal property were eligible for citizenship?

Do you realize that at the time of the first Constitutional Convention in 1777 only the landed aristocracy had a voice in electing delegates?

The ideal of democracy has had a slow but steady development in this state. Men have won their battle for the ballot. To-day adult males, regardless of race, color or amount of wealth, may participate in the government.

Can you not see that history is repeating itself in the movement for woman suffrage?

You have been able to remove those restrictions which gave the franchise only to the rich and prosperous, the white and the native born American.

On November 2nd you will have the opportunity of making the democracy complete, with no barriers of sex, race or property. *Vote for the woman suffrage amendment!*

VOTES FOR WOMEN WORKERS

There are 4,003,844 workers in New York State.

3,020,158 of the workers are men, armed with the ballot.

983,686 workers are unenfranchised women.

Workingmen in New York State were given the franchise in 1826. Since then there has been steady improvement in the conditions of labor and opportunity for the successful development of trade organization.

Let 1915 mark the date when the working women of New York have equal opportunity with working men. Give them a share in making laws which they must obey.

Justice in legislation and administration require that women have the ballot. No class can rely on any other to safeguard its interests. No woman has as much influence without as she would have with the ballot. Legislators are so human that they heed influences which have votes.

Moreover, so many of the present-day questions call for the sympathy, insight and determination of women that their participation in elections will contribute to the efficiency of government.

HERBERT PARSONS.

SCHOOLS FOR CITIZENSHIP

MARGARET DREIER ROBINS

PRESIDENT NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE

THE Fifth Biennial Convention of the National Women's Trade Union League opens in New York City on June 7th, at 43 East Twenty-second Street. This is the first time in the history of New York City that working women from all over the country will meet in convention to voice the demands and ideals of organized working women in the conditions of work, hours, wages and education.

The average wage of Chicago's 400,000 working women is less than $6.00 a week. The average wage of New York State's 800,000 working women is $6.54 a week.

In overwhelming numbers the working girl still represents individual effort. She is slow to learn that her economic problem to-day is a social one to be controlled by social and collective action. Unorganized she is a tragic underbidder in the labor market and her own worst competitor, putting the working mothers in the sweat-shop and the working fathers on the tramp. Unorganized she has to accept conditions as she finds them—low wages, long hours, abusive language, unsanitary conditions, locked doors, fire dangers, work destructive of her physical strength with its promise of the future, work destructive of her moral and spiritual development.

Alone she cannot change these conditions. Alone she cannot even protest against these conditions, except at the risk of losing her job. She loses her job when she asserts her fundamental right to have a voice as to the conditions under which she works. Yet these conditions if allowed to continue will destroy the ideals and promise of our individual and national life.

Self-government is essential to the making of a free people, and self-government in the day's work can be had only by the *united action of the workers.* In the trade union school of democracy and citizenship open to all and within the reach of all, the workers are taught self-government, and, it is because the Women's Trade Union League believes in a government of the people, by the people and for the people in industry as in politics that it stands steadfastly and unflinchingly for the organization of all workers into trade unions. Many and many a time this call to self-government, this sense of responsibility towards her condition of work is the first awakening of the young girl.

The chief social gain of the Union Shop is not its generally better wages and shorter hours, but rather the incentive it offers for initiative and social leadership, the call it makes through the common industrial relationship and the common hope upon the moral and reasoning faculties, and the sense of fellowship, independence and group strength it develops. In every workshop of say thirty girls there is undreamed of initiative and capacity for social leadership and control—unknown wealth of intellectual and moral resources.

Just as under a despotic church and a feudal state the possible power and beauty of the common people was denied expression, so under industrial feudalism the intellectual and moral powers of the workers are slowly choked to death, with incalculable loss to the individual and the race. It is easy to kill; it requires a great spirit as well as a great mind to arouse the dormant energies, to vitalize them and to make them creative forces for good. Who answers to the call?

SUFFRAGE RESOLUTION

The United Hebrew Trades at its last meeting passed a resolution to solicit of all the Unions their aid in your cause. We are personally endeavoring to elucidate the benefits the country would receive by a realization of woman suffrage in this State.

B. WEINSTEIN
Secretary United Hebrew Trades

MARGARET DREIER ROBINS

MARGARET DREIER ROBINS is a native of Brooklyn, N. Y., and was very prominent in a number of social and civic movements in New York City till 1905, when she married Raymond Robins, the well-known lecturer and social worker, and transferred her activities to Chicago. The Robins's live in a tenement in the congested Seventeenth Ward, which overlooks the old Bickerdike Playground.

Mrs. Robins as President of the National Women's Trade Union League, will address the Mass Meeting of the Convention on the evening of June 7th, in Cooper Union, on that occasion sharing the honors with Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor.

Mrs. Robins will preside during the daily sessions of the Convention at 43 East Twenty-second Street, and in her report will take up such questions as the Eight-Hour Day for Women, the Minimum Wage, the Vote and the Present World Outlook for the Working Woman.

The United Mine Workers of America in all their conventions for years past have by unanimous vote indorsed Woman Suffrage, and we propose in the future as in the past to do everything we can to advance this cause. We feel that in this day of woman and child labor it is essential, if the woman is to be protected in the factory and the workshop, that she have the power of the ballot to remedy the wrongs under which she labors.

FRANK J. HAYES
Vice-President United Mine Workers of America

RESOLUTION BY WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

CENTRAL BODY, NEW YORK

In full sympathy with your cause, as to which there can be only one opinion among workers and intelligent men who know the handicaps of women workers in their present disfranchised state, we refer you, for our position, to the following resolution passed at our New Haven Conference, where a similar request was brought to our body:

RESOLVED, That this body endorses and encourages the movement to gain the ballot for women, and that we support it not only morally, but financially by appropriating $50 to fill space with suffrage material in the official paper. Further be it resolved, That we urge the Locals to work for the same end.

The golf links lie so near the mill
That almost every day
The laboring children can look out
And watch the men at play.

—Sarah N. Cleghorn in the N. Y. Tribune.

ORGANIZED LABOR IS FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

JOHN MITCHELL

AT the Detroit convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in 1890, or twenty-four years ago, a resolution was adopted declaring in the name of the American workingmen that women should be enfranchised, that in respect to voting they should have the same rights as men. At various conventions of the American Federation of Labor since that time the declaration of the Detroit convention has been reaffirmed, and the keen and sustained interest of the wage-earners in the subject of equal suffrage is evidenced by the fact that the convention of the Federation, held in November, 1913—a convention which represented directly over two million organized workmen and which expressed the hopes and aspirations in the economic field of all the wage-earning, the millions of wage-earning men and women of our country—adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, The granting of the ballot to women upon equal terms with men has demonstrated by practical operation in the State of California and other States that it is for the best interests of humanity; and,

Whereas, Justice and fair dealing demand that women, and particularly wage-earning women, shall be given the same voting powers and privileges as are accorded to men as a means of self-protection and advancement; and,

Whereas, The women of our country, wherever given the opportunity, have proved that the ballot in their hands is an instrument of great worth in the struggle of the human race toward the goal of social justice; and,

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor, since its inception, has proclaimed the fundamental right of woman to the ballot on an equal footing with man; therefore be it

Resolved by the thirty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, That we reaffirm with increased emphasis our former declaration in favor of woman suffrage and urge upon the unionists of the land the desirability of vigorously and persistently promoting this great cause, to the end that it shall soon become a universally established principle in order that the women may be able to render their valuable assistance to the forces striving for humane legislation and social justice.

Do you know that the only amendment which passed in Wyoming at the last election was one to make provision for workmen's compensation? It carried by a vote of 24,258 to 3,915, and because of this vote the Legislature was able to pass the workingmen's compensation act at its last session.

Do you realize that Wyoming was the first State to give women the vote? Do you know that six other suffrage States, Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Arizona and Kansas, have workmen's compensation laws? Women believe in justice for you. Do you believe in justice for women?

The significant fact of present-day history is the rise of the working class from the condition of degradation, under which it has throughout the civilized world been compelled to live, to the social, the political and religious life of the world.

Algernon S. Crapsey.

NEW YORK LABOR LEADERS

At the coming election the Trade Union voters of New York will support the Woman Suffrage amendment. In the Union we tolerate no discrimination on account of sex; we propose to end it in the State. There can be no salvation for the 800,000 wage-earning women of New York without trade union organization. We want to give the ballot to women so that they can use their political power in aid of their organized efforts as the men have.

JAMES P. BOYLE
Central Labor Union of B'klyn

The woman voter is bound to come. I believe she will make the home better, the Government purer, and add force and power to the Union Labor movement. Many have been impressed that Woman Suffrage was a fad, but that time has passed and the near future will undoubtedly portend to great success and much progress.

ERNEST BOHM
Central Federated Union of New York

I am in favor of woman suffrage, because I believe that working women should have a vote, as it is the only weapon by which they can safeguard their interests, and it is the duty of every working man to give the amendment his support.

MAURICE DE YOUNG
President Brewery Workers' Union

I believe that the advocates of "Votes for Women" may rely upon a large majority of the workingmen who are intelligent enough to belong to Trade Unions, supporting the referendum on November 2nd.

The Trade Union movement has always stood for Equal Rights for all, irrespective of sex, nationality, creed or color. That is why it supported with such practical unanimity the equal pay for equal work movement.

If the use of the Franchise by Women will help towards securing for the thousands of underpaid women wage-workers, a decent recompense for their labor—if it will help toward obtaining for them a full living wage, with all that that means, it will prove to be one of the greatest blessings of our day and generation.

Votes for women seem bound to come. When secured, let us hope they may not prove a disappointment. May women set an example to men in the intelligent and conscientious use of the franchise.

JOHN J. FOOTE
Bookeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union

Every Trade Unionist who is a member of an organization in which women vote, knows that it is a perfectly sound proposition to have equal suffrage for men and women. Imagine forbidding women to vote if they are members of a union and pay their dues!

The action of the Government is of as much concern to women as to men. Their interests and their point of view should be recognized.

As a Trade Unionist of many years, I stand unqualifiedly for Votes for Women. Every woman who does not favor it, is scabbing her own sex.

PETER J. BRADY
Secretary, Allied Printing Trades

WOMEN AND GOVERNMENT

Samuel Gompers

President American Federation of Labor

—Philadelphia North American.

ANOTHER ANTI

WOMEN'S life has been revolutionized during the last two hundred years. Their intellectual similarity to men has been recognized in equal and identical educational opportunities. Industrial changes have developed for them similar and identical industrial problems. Women have become wage-earners. Work that formerly was done in the homes has been taken to factories, shops and stores. Women's work has always contributed to the family income; in former years the contribution was in the form of assistance in work or family comforts, now it is in the money form. The work takes women outside the protection of the home into the factories or the stores or the mills, where they must rely upon their own efforts.

Women are for the time being at least a part of the industrial world. According to the last census more than eight million women are gainfully employed. The industrial world is no place for those who cannot protect themselves. Women must learn to take their work seriously and to solve their own problems. Though their individual connection with employment may be temporary, yet the employment of women is not temporary. Women must learn that work problems are concerned with life problems of tremendous importance to other women and the race. They must feel individual responsibilities as members of society. To do this they must assume the dignity and the responsibility of determining the regulation of society.

Many of the regulations concern the relations with employers and conditions of work. It is imperative for personal freedom that control of these be retained by the workers. Control over the labor power of free women must be vested in those women. As individuals they are powerless to make terms of work with employers in large industries. But united in unions they are collectively strong enough to force employers to accept just terms. This has been done without the ballot, but it has been struggling against unnecessary difficulties and resistance. Women without the ballot have not the same potential reserve force as women with the ballot. Their protests, their demands, do not receive immediate consideration. "Influence" must be invoked. Nothing engenders respect like power to do things. Working women need power to do things.

The welfare and the interest of the working women cannot be intrusted entirely to legislation by men or by men and women. Matters of personal relations must be decided by the individuals concerned and must be subject to their direct regulation.

There are many things which touch the lives and the welfare of the workers which cannot be regulated by collective action. These interest working women directly or indirectly through their effect upon others.

The increasingly widening functions of the government make legislative and administrative problems of increasing concern to women—working women and the wives and daughters of working men. The organization of the markets, food prices, pure food laws, municipal sanitation, building regulations, school laws, child labor laws, in an almost endless list, bring politics very close into the common life. These things should and do concern women very vitally. For that reason women should participate in their consideration and determination directly.

WHEN MEN SOUGHT THE VOTE

MEN do not hold the franchise by divine right of sex. Universal manhood suffrage was attained by a long struggle in which men sought by petition, reason and appeal to prove that the franchise should have no property, racial or religious qualification.

The memorials presented early in the 19th century by male suffragists, asking for their enfranchisement, might be used by suffragists to-day with the simple substitution of the word female for male.

"Your memorialists, as their designation imports, belong to that class of citizens, who, not having the good fortune to possess a certain portion of land, are, for that cause only, debarred from the enjoyment of the right of suffrage. Experience has but too clearly evinced, what indeed reason has always foretold, by how frail a tenure they hold every other right, who are denied this, the highest prerogative of freemen. The want of it has afforded both the pretext and the means of excluding the entire class to which your memorialists belong, from all participation in the recent election of the body they now respectfully address.

"Comprising a very large part, probably a majority of male citizens of mature age, they have been passed by, like aliens or slaves, as if destitute of interest, or unworthy of a voice, in measures involving their future destiny; whilst the freeholders, sole possessors, under the existing Constitution of the elective franchise, have, upon the strength of that possession alone, asserted and maintained in themselves, the exclusive power of new-modelling the fundamental laws of the State; in other words, have seized upon the sovereign authority. . . . To the privilege of the suffrage they respectfully contend, they are entitled equally with its present possessors. Many are bold enough to deny their title. None can show a better. It rests upon no subtle or abtruse reasoning; but upon grounds simple in their character, intelligible to the plainest capacity and such as appeal to the heart as well as the understanding, of all who comprehend and duly appreciate the principle of free Government."

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

LEONORA O'REILLY
Wage-Earners' League, Woman Suffrage Party

IN answer to the question uppermost in most minds to day, "How can we rid the world of war?" the organized workers make reply:

We can never establish an Industrial Democracy, that is a Society based on production, and eliminate a Society based on war, until woman comes into her full right of citizenship.

Woman is pre-eminently fitted to take part in an Industrial Democracy, first, because she is the mother of all industries; second, because to earn a living today she has followed the industries into factory, mill, office and market. Eight million women in the United States today serve industry with hand, head and heart. These 8,000,000 women know the wear and tear of modern industry as developed by speed and greed with their by-products; the White Slave Trade, the Sacrifice of Little Children, Nervous Exhaustion, Industrial Diseases; which stamp man's management of the peaceful art of production as barbaric.

Woman's intuition tells her that retribution must be made for all this unnecessary waste and exhaustion of the human stock.

Ballots in the hands of women will be preferable to bullets from the guns of an infuriated people.

Industrial economy will one day lead the world into wealth and harmony.

Such economy must take into account the best interests of all citizens, men and women alike.

A sane understanding and treatment of all these topics is imperative in the interest of humanity and without woman's vote such problems never will be solved.

Woman's vote is needed to abolish War—to make a Universal Child Labor Law, to wipe out the White Slave Trade, to make appropriations for schools instead of armories, to secure time for children to spend in playgrounds instead of factory and mills, to establish recreation centres for the youths of both sexes, and last but not least, to secure the full fruit of their labors to all who work for a living. This is the platform on which the Wage-Earners' Suffrage League stands when it maintains that Votes for Women is necessary in the best interest of humanity. It maintains further, that the interest of humanity is to live in Peace and Love on this planet.

To live in Peace and Love the wage earners know they must establish a Society based on production and eliminate all societies based on war. To bring this ideal industrial condition about the ballot in the hands of women is necessary. Women who pay the first cost of all physical exhaustion through war, and women who pay the greater cost of sacrifice through badly managed industrial life today, should work together and never cease their effort until the women of all nations are enfranchised.

THE WOMAN MOVEMENT AND THE WORKING WOMAN

ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN
General Organizer International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

THE women of the business and professional class have helped tremendously to awaken the world to a realization of what the vote can accomplish in furthering freedom for women and society in general. At first sight it is surprising that such women should be so much more alive to the need of the vote than the working woman herself, she who requires its protection and the power it confers so much more than do her more comfortable sisters. May not the reason be that the sheltered woman, so long denied the right to self-support, has had to strive for this right, and in

ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN

striving has attained to a sense of freedom, so that she now feels that there should be no barrier to her further self-development? Hence, the demand for political expression.

The working woman, on the other hand, has always had full liberty to work; indeed, from her is demanded the hardest and most exacting kind of toil. Work to her spells no gateway to freedom. Question any working girl and every time she will tell you, "I am tired of going to work every day and coming home just to rest up so as to be fit to go to work again the next day." Work to her is no adventure but a monotonous reality. What she needs is to be released from the bondage of overwork, long hours, insufficient pay and dangerous and unhealthy working conditions.

The suffragists have blazed the way for recognition of the economic value of women, a value which cannot be enforced without political freedom backed by economic organization.

Take, for instance, the girls in the waist-making trade. They can hardly exist on the poor wage they get. Not that the industry cannot afford it, for where they are organized, as they are in New York, good operators earn from $15 to $20 and $25 a week during the season.

The unorganized woman is at the mercy of the employer. Whenever there is any reduction in wages, whenever depression comes along, whenever unemployment becomes more acute she is the first to suffer. The only ones who can be depended upon to at least hold what they have are the trade union women.

The general woman movement cannot advance very much further until the great body of working women are enrolled in it, pledged to work not only for enfranchisement but for complete organization, both economic and political. The working women must also demand that not only the leaders, but that the great mass of working men, who have not given the matter much thought, support women in their demands.

On the other hand, it is impossible for the working woman to get ahead of the general working class movement, for with that her needs and her future destiny are inevitably bound up.—*From Life and Labor.*

SUFFRAGISTS AND TRADE-UNIONISTS

MARY E. DREIER

IT was at the St. Louis convention in 1913 that the request came from the New York delegates that the next meeting of the National Women's Trade Union League should take place in New York City. It was because the delegates realized that 1915 was the great suffrage campaign year of New York State, that they wanted the trade union women from the different leagues to meet here, believing that such a gathering would naturally leave its impress upon the labor men of the State.

Women from Chicago and Springfield, Ill., Kansas City, Baltimore, Boston and Philadelphia will be gathered together. They will report on the work done for the organization of the women workers since the last convention; of the legislation passed, and of their political activities—for the Illinois women have already used the ballot effectively. They will discuss future work, national and local, and lay plans for further organization work.

The National League was formed by a group of people who recognized the fact that the Trade Union men have a mighty problem to organize their fellow-workers, and that the task of organizing the ever-increasing number of women in industry has peculiar difficulties. Individual women move in and out of industry, but woman as a permanent factor in industry remains, and becomes of immense importance. Comparatively few trades are closed to her and she is used constantly as an underbidder—quite unconsciously used as a club for keeping wages down.

Another difficulty in the organization of women is that they almost invariably have family and personal obligations outside of their work. Thousands upon thousands are extremely young, sometimes their earnings make part of a family budget, though they frequently are the breadwinners of the family, either supporting old parents or younger brothers and sisters; thousands of others are mature—but still must support others. All this gives an especial handicap to their organization and led to the formation of the National Women's Trade Union League. This body is composed of trade union men and women, and other people who believed in trade union organization and wished to ally themselves for the advancement of this idea among women workers.

The whole status of trade union organization among women has been radically affected and changed by this movement. Organization has taken place in many trades which a few years ago were entirely chaotic, and working women have shown their capacity and ability to be not only courageous and heroic strikers, gladly accepting the hardships of no wages and no work for the purpose of organizing a Trade Union and control industry on democratic lines, but they have done constructive work of permanent value. It is now recognized that women's trade unions can be as effective as men's and that women can guide their organizations wisely and well.

The women who have shown this to be the case and are pioneers in this work are those who are coming to this convention. They are Trade Unionists who not only have organized their own trades effectively, not only have won for their respective organizations more and more recognition, and more and more concessions from their employers, but who have gladly gone out to preach the gospel to their fellow-workers in other trades and have helped them to organize. That these women, of course, stand for woman suffrage goes without saying, and it is a gratifying thing that among the visiting delegates are those who are, at least in part, enfranchised, the women of Illinois.

It will be of the utmost interest for the suffrage women to follow the discussions which will take place at this convention. It will give those among them who are not workers a deeper comprehension of the need of the ballot, a better understanding of the industrial problems that confront the working women so that after the vote has been won they will be able to help their working sisters to the establishment of industrial as well as political democracy.

WHY WORKING WOMEN NEED THE BALLOT

DOROTHY MILLER, RETAIL CLERKS' UNION

IT has often been very depressing and at the same time encouraging to hear the women with whom I have worked in the department stores say, "Oh, what's the use, we can't do anything without the vote?" And that is really the whole thing in a nutshell. Whenever the women have gathered together for the purpose of introducing a most necessary bill, practically no attention was paid to them. What a different attitude the representatives of our men would take if each woman possessed a vote. Even organized men can only accomplish their ends through legislation. And it works the other way, too! There must be an organization of the working people in order to see to the proper execution of the law.

I know that many people will say, "But a number of the working women don't care about the ballot." Well, the fact is that there are a number of working women who do care; why should they remain in the rut when they see a way of creeping out? Besides, it's about time that the others wake up—and they will do so when they will actually mingle with voting women. So that as one who has worked in the department stores, and seen their needs, I believe that working women need the ballot because it will aid in organization, in legislation and in broadening their outlook in life.

"If a woman would fulfill her traditional responsibility to her own children; if she would educate and protect from danger, factory children who must find their recreation on the street; if she would bring the cultured forces to bear upon our materialistic civilization; and if she would do it all with the dignity and directness fitting one who carries on her immemorial duties, then she must bring herself to the use of the ballot—that latest implement for self-government. May we not fairly say that American women need this implement in order to preserve the home?"—*Jane Addams.*

"If women had the ballot, they would drive the corruption out. Each party would be compelled to put up its best candidates to stand any chance of winning. I would like to see the ballot in the hands of every woman." —*Mark Twain.*

"Women are more interested in public affairs than they used to be before they obtained the franchise, and politicians deal more earnestly with home and social questions, but no neglect of private duties on that account can be laid to the women's charge."—*Lady Holder, wife of Sir Frederick W. Holder, K. C. M. G., Speaker of the House of Representatives of Federated Australia.*

WAGE-EARNERS AND CITIZENSHIP!

Maud Nathan

WHEN we consider that in New York City alone one out of every four wage earners is a woman and one out of every four women is a wage earner, and that there are in New York State nearly one million women wage earners, we realize how unjust it is to handicap the woman wage earner by refusing to place in her hand that most powerful implement—the ballot—which is placed in the hand of the working man at her side.

It is all very well to declare that the strength of working men lies in trade-union organization; of what avail is the organization without the power of the ballot behind it? Legislators are influenced to pass certain laws for the protection of workers, not because a certain organization comprises fifteen hundred or fifteen thousand men, but because every native born or naturalized citizen in the organization holds in his hand a vote. How much protection did the working men in England receive until they were enfranchised and were able to elect a representative of the Labor Party to look after their interests in Parliament?

The women of the New York State Federation of Clubs, some years ago, decided, after an investigation, that some provision was necessary for the large number of orphan girls and young female dependents, who, if they had proper training, could earn an honest living. They raised a sum of money and endeavored to get a State Industrial Home for Girls established. They asked the New York Legislature to grant a site for the building and the women offered to raise a sufficient sum of money to equip and run it. Their demand was *not* granted. A similar demand in Colorado, made before the women were enfranchised, met with a similar fate, but the first Legislature that sat after the women became voters, passed the measure which enabled them to establish a State Industrial Home for Girls and provided that three of the five members of the Board should be women.

Women of wealth are in a position to guard and shield their daughters from harm, while working women, from force of circumstances, cannot so well protect their daughters, who, at an early age, must go out into the industrial world. According to the National Vigilance Association every Equal Suffrage State has a good law against the white slave traffic. In all the states where women have been enfranchised, one of the first results observed has been the immediate enactment of progressive laws in which working women are especially interested. For instance, the age of protection to young girls was at once raised to eighteen years in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho and California. Indeed, the only Equal Suffrage State where the age of consent falls below eighteen is the newly enfranchised State of Nevada, where it is sixteen. In several non-suffrage states it falls as low as ten, twelve and fourteen.

An eight-hour working day for women was passed in Colorado, Washington and Arizona and was extended in California to include workers in apartment houses and nurses in training, after the enfranchisement of the women. In Idaho and Utah, nine-hour working-day bills were enacted. In Oregon, a measure was passed providing for an Industrial Commission to fix hours of labor, a minimum wage and standard conditions. During the first legislative session sitting in Oregon after the women were enfranchised the newspaper editors of the state often commented upon the fact that certain bills which had previously met with great opposition easily passed through their various stages and became laws. This state of affairs, they attributed solely to the fact that women had political power.

POLITICS IS POLITICS

Robert Minor. —*The Evening World.*

"HOW MANY VOTES IS HERE? JUST ONE—THAT'S ME!"

In Washington a lazy husband is put to work by the State and the money is paid to the wife for her support and for the support of the children. In Oregon a bill was passed making it a felony for a man to refuse to support his wife and minor children. In California a law was passed requiring fathers to help support their illegitimate children and a Mothers' Pension Law was enacted to enable a needy mother to keep her children at home rather than have them committed to an institution.

In pioneer days, the Legislatures were kept busy passing laws in regard to protection of property. At that time only property owners had a right to vote and their interests only were considered. To-day laws are passed for the protection of business interests and yet the eight million women helping to build up the business of our country have no representation in our Legislative Halls except in the Equal Suffrage States.

During the past session of the New York State Legislature, three legislators interested in the canning industry of our state, did everything in their power to push measures forward which aimed to break down all restrictions in regard to the labor of young boys and girls and of women in canneries. By scandalous methods they succeeded in getting a reactionary bill through both the Houses, and only the Governor's veto prevented it from becoming a law. None of the legislators felt that the women employed in the canneries were their constituents.

In the Southern States, year after year, the women of the Federated Clubs have pleaded for more progressive factory laws, restricting the labor of little children; the counter-plea of a small number of manufacturers with votes in their hands has proven more effective than the voteless plea of thousands of women. A strong trade-union organization will improve conditions among our working women but the power of such an organization will be multiplied a hundred fold when the members of the organization can wield their ballots, in order to secure the right type of legislators who will recognize their responsibility to them as constituents.

AMONG THE DELEGATES

TO THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION CONVENTION

MELINDA SCOTT

MISS MELINDA SCOTT, President of the New York Women's Trade Union League, is one of the best known labor leaders in the United States. Miss Scott is also Vice-President of the National Women's Trade Union League. She is well known at the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor, being one of the regular half dozen women delegates who attend that congress.

Miss Scott is a hat trimmer by trade. She learned her trade and her trade-unionism in England, being a native of Cheshire, on the border of Lancashire.

THE TWO SECRETARIES

THE Secretary of an organization is the one who attends to the multitudinous details of the work in which the public—and no one else—is interested unless they do not go smoothly. Whew! Then comes the only time when a Secretary can hope to rival a President in publicity.

Miss Alice Bean and Miss S. M. Franklin as two Women's Trade Union League Secretaries will be also two of the busiest delegates to the Fifth Biennial Convention opening in New York June 7. Miss Alice Bean is Recording-Secretary of the Women's Trade Union League of New York, which is hostess to the delegates and on that account she will have her hands full. Miss Franklin is National Secretary-Treasurer and also joint Editor of "Life and Labor," the official magazine of the W. T. U. L. In the eight years she has been in the National Office Miss Franklin has seen a great expansion in the organization. When she first started she had to do the work in her bed room and carry the documents back and forth to the President's house each day in a commodious handbag, of which, by the way, she grew very tired. Since then the League has risen to the dignity of comfortable headquarters and has published its own magazine for the last four years.

MISS MARY BUTLER is the first trade unionist to be appointed by the Chicago Board of Education as a teacher in the public schools.

Miss Butler's subject is glove making. She is a member of the International Glove Workers' Union.

MISS MARY BUTLER

MISS MARY ANDERSON

THERE are not many women acting as board members of the National Trade Unions but one woman having that distinction is Miss Mary Anderson, national executive board member of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

Miss Anderson has been engaged for over two years as a field worker for the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago and during the last year has helped to organize 1,000 employees in the State Institutions of Illinois.

Miss Anderson had the cordial good will of the Board of Administration of the State of Illinois, and believes that the organization of such workers will raise the standards of the nurses and attendants in a way that will react beneficially upon the insane which they have in their care.

In an institution where there were about 200 employees, Miss Anderson often found that as many as 50 or 60 leave during the month. This large number coming and going irritates the patients and is not good for the service in general. Under the better conditions which organization brings about, Miss Anderson predicts a better standard of employees in the Government institutions.

MISS EMMA STEGHAGEN

MISS EMMA STEGHAGEN, better known as "Sister Emma," is one of the most popular people in labor circles in the Middle West. A shoe worker by trade, Miss Steghagen is Secretary of the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago and was recently appointed director of the National Women's Trade Union League's classes for training women organizers.

Miss Steghagen is also Chairman of the League's National Suffrage Committee, another member of which is Leonora O'Reilly, well known in New York, and lately a delegate from the Women's Trade Union League to the International Congress of Women in the interest of peace, held at the Hague the last days of April.

MISS JULIA O'CONNOR

PRESIDENT OF THE BOSTON WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE

Miss O'Connor was the Leader in organizing the Telephone Operators' Union of Boston, which now has a working agreement with the Telephone Company in Boston.

She is a member of the Minimum Wage Board of the Brush Making Industry.

WHAT EIGHT MILLION WOMEN WORKERS WANT

A LIVING WAGE

AN EIGHT-HOUR DAY

SAFE AND SANITARY WORK SHOPS

ORGANIZATION FOR PROGRESS

VOTES FOR PROTECTION

MISS LOUISA MITTELSTADT

AMONG the delegates to the convention is Miss Louisa Mittelstadt, of Kansas City. Miss Louisa Mittelstadt was the first pupil chosen to enter the training classes of the National Women's Trade Union League, for trade union women organizers. She was held in such high regard by the labor leaders of her home city that the Central Labor body gave her four months' leave of absence on full pay to go to Chicago and study.

This winter in Kansas City she has been active in dealing with such problems as unemployment and all that affects women in industry.

Miss Mittelstadt has received tempting offers to become a public lecturer, but for the present considers that the economic organization of women comes first. Says Miss Mittelstadt:

"Owing to the rapid changes in our industrial world through the introduction of machinery, woman has become an important factor in industry, and it has become necessary for her to protect herself and children from the abuses of industry by the same means of self-defense which men have found so successful —organization into trade unions."

I'm in perfect harmony with the declaration of the American Federation of Labor, which has endorsed the demand that women be given the right to vote. It is a sure thing that any adult who is amenable to the laws of the country should have a voice in the making of those laws, under which he or she is governed.

I personally believe that it would be for the good of *us* all for women to be enfranchised.

JOHN MITCHELL.

I am for unqualified woman suffrage as a matter of human justice. It is unfair that women should be governed by laws in the making of which they have no voice. Men would feel that they were used badly if they did not have that right and women would naturally feel the same.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

WINNING THE LABOR VOTE

Sarah Rush Parks

"THE workmen have decided that they will vote for the suffrage amendment on November 2nd, 1915." Innumerable unions have adopted the resolution sent out by the Empire State Campaign Committee, with its array of formal "Whereases." Others have chosen to endorse woman suffrage in this simpler language of their own framing, expressed often in a foreign tongue.

However varied the wording, one thing is invariable. The unions approached are all endorsing. The speakers are always received courteously, often cordially, many times enthusiastically. Sometimes unions are too rushed with important business of their own to grant a suffrage speaker more than five minutes. But that is given cheerfully. Occasionally they are too busy to spare even that time. Then arrangements are made for a hearing at a later meeting, at which time no emergency, however important or unexpected, is allowed to interfere with the granting of the floor to the suffrage speakers.

Often the time given is most generous, especially considering what very busy organizations unions are. "How long are you going to let me have?" a speaker recently asked a union that had not specified. "How long can you keep going?" someone inquired. "Like all suffragists—indefinitely," she answered. "I move that she be given five minutes," came a suggestion that was drowned in disapproval. "I move fifteen," somebody put in. "And I move that the speaker be given as long as she likes." This motion was seconded and carried.

Again the willingness of unions to co-operate is often shown by suggestions, when speakers happen upon small meetings, as to times when a larger proportion of the members will be present. Often these larger meetings are also unusually busy meetings. But they always find time for the suffrage speaker.

In general, the response of the unions is very satisfactory,—as might perhaps be expected, the woman and labor movements have always been so closely allied and are in many ways so closely interdependent. Suffragists everywhere always support organized labor, with their votes if they have votes, with their indirect influence if they have not. Labor leaders everywhere always support woman suffrage, often with untiring devotion, as every campaign and recently won suffrage state can testify. The American Federation of Labor endorsed woman suffrage many years ago, and constantly re-endorses; our Brooklyn Central Labor Union is but typical of strong central labor bodies in its assertion that, whatever it may do with regard to the new constitution and with regard to other public issues, it will heartily support the woman suffrage amendment.

None the less, in spite of all these encouraging things, the labor vote, like practically every other large vote in the state, is a thing that will not come to us of its own initiative,—the number of union men who do not sign the yellow slips proves this. If we want the labor vote, we must get out and get it.

We do want it. Without it, to hope for victory is absurd; with it, we can laugh at any opposition. And we are out to get it. Union meetings are being systematically covered by speakers, every one of whom is doing efficient work. They are women who themselves are members of trade unions; their union cards gain them admittance to the meetings, their union experience helps them to know what to say when they are admitted. They are businesslike, never taking a minute longer than is granted them, filling that time cram-full of telling arguments. Mrs. Zelda Rosen and Mrs. Lottie Levine have visited with the greatest success all local unions affiliated with the United Hebrew Trades and holding their meetings south of Fourteenth Street, as well as many locals of the Workingmen's Circle; Miss Margaret Hinchey has presented suffrage, with excellent results, to more than 100 New York unions; while Miss Kathrine Mills has been achieving marked success in Brooklyn.

It is an interesting part of the campaign, and one remarkably like the rest of the campaign in fundamental ways. In spite of the good majority of union men who are found to be for suffrage, there is a noticeable minority who are opposed, opposed for the timeworn reasons that one meets everywhere. The man who asserts that "Woman's place is in the home," is to be found among laboring men as well as elsewhere,—some of us cannot help wondering whether there is any place outside of the suffrage states where he is not to be found! When a laborer, he is haunted not so much by a vision of unwashed dishes and uncared for children (tho, of course, he has these things in his mind) as by the fear of women's crowding in ever increasing numbers into industry, underbidding and overworking, taking jobs from men. The necessary thing is to make him realize that the lack of the ballot cannot and does not keep women out of industry; it rather sends them there, weak and helpless. One points to industries where women will do for $6 or $7 a week work for which men demand $2 to $2.50 a day,—with the result that the women are employed. The unenfranchised worker is always exploited; and is an instrument for the exploitation of others; every working man knows it.

Again, there is the man who, to all intents and purposes, has never heard of woman suffrage before, who has never taken it seriously, never given it a careful thought. The number of such men in all walks of life is astounding; it is peculiarly annoying to find them in labor unions, where one is used to meeting thinkers. Yet they are there in no small numbers, thoroughly intelligent often on many other topics, but knowing nothing about woman suffrage. One such man recently took a week to think the matter over, even after all his objections had been answered to his satisfaction. By the end of the time he was a sufficiently ardent suffragist to show great interest in the number of signatures obtained.

Such experiences prove the value of the work, make us feel that we must pursue everywhere this man who has not yet thought.

But, unfortunately, not all laborers are in unions. Street meetings at noon outside of factories help to reach the unorganized. It is remarkable the way the men will listen, even when the lunch time is only a half hour. Some will hurry through their lunch in fifteen minutes, return and listen eagerly the rest of the time, express their approval by hearty applause and urge the speaker to come back some other day.

There are those, however, who will not listen to street meetings, and there are large numbers of union members who, being absent from their union meetings, never hear suffragists address unions. Such men can be reached only through the house to house canvassing.

The work being done in the unions and through the street meetings at factories is remarkable and essential; it is being exceedingly well done; it is reaching large numbers of men who should naturally be for suffrage but upon whose votes we could not count without this contact. But even this work, like all the other work, needs to be supplemented and pressed home by the house to house work. For the message that the speakers conducting the labor work have for us is the message that is coming from everywhere:

"The winning of votes is not a matter of converting the opposed; it is a matter of reaching the uninformed. If we can but reach these men in large proportions with a mere presentation of our arguments, the resolution adopted by certain unions will become true widely and generally: 'The workmen have decided that they will vote for the suffrage amendment, November 2nd, 1915'."

And when that happens, everything will be over except the shouting—and the honest counting of the votes.

The appended list of locals is only a small fraction of those which have endorsed woman suffrage. It is the list presented by Mrs. Levine and Mrs. Rosen, who have completed their work, and does not contain any of the many unions covered by Miss Hinchey and Miss Mills:

Cloak Operators, Lettercutters & M. Workers, Laundryworkers, Barbers' Union, Non-Basted Children Jacketmakers, Knee Pants Makers, Neckwear Makers, Mineral Water Workers, Knitters' Union, Umbrella Makers' Union, Stuffed Toy Makers' Union, Mattress Makers' Union, Alteration Carpenters' Union, Coat Operators, Tailors and Basters, Canvass Makers, Bookbinders' Union, Chandelier & Brass Workers, Hebrew Typographical Union, Ladies' Garment Cutters, Buttonhole Makers, Brass Bed Makers, Pants Makers, Retail Clothing Salesmen, Trunkmakers, Suspender Truss Makers, Hebrew Butchers' Union, Jewelers' Union, Coat Pressers, Cap Makers' Union, Straw Sewers' Union, Ladies' Natural Fur Makers, Overall Makers' Union, Silver Workers' Union, Printers' Industrial Union, Vestmakers' Union, Reefer Makers, Raincoat Makers, Bakers' Union, Ladies' Waist Makers, Whitegoods Workers, Painters' Union, Cloak Tailors, Cloak Pressers.

The "Protected Sex" in Industry

By George Creel

IN the United States to-day, nine million women are engaged in gainful occupations. They breathe the humid, lint-filled air of the cotton mills, watch needles that set 3,000 stitches a minute, scrub floors of office buildings from midnight to daybreak, creep on bruised knees across cranberry bogs, faint from nausea in the canneries, sew incredible hours in the squalor of tenements, toil in the heat of steam laundries, tear their fingers in the oyster shucking sheds, strain their eyes in the silk mills, race through long days in department stores and roll cigars in filthy basements.

Yet the cry of these drudges of the world for a voice in the fixing of the laws that govern their industrial status is met by the incredible hypocrisy that *"woman's place is the home."*

These women receive less pay than men, they labor longer hours than men, they are subjected to fire hazards and health hazards that are not tolerated by men, and as if these were not disadvantages enough, they are called upon to endure a host of economic, political and legal disabilities inherited from a time when man supported his women folk.

Yet in the face of these grim facts there is a persistence in the amazing assumption that the American woman is an uncrowned queen who walks in ways of ease and beauty, guarded from the rougher airs by some uncrowned king whose one object in life is to minister to her slightest desire.

These cruelties and indifferences are due to omission, not commission. It is not that men have passed discriminatory laws deliberately, but that they have failed to pass laws made necessary by social upheaval that has thrown women out of the home into industry. The reason for it is a vanity that would be monstrous were it not so unconscious.

The average man laments the passing of the feudal state. He resents the fact that women *are* at work, and the more generous his instincts the greater his resentment. Out of the centuries during which his woman waited at home for him to return with the fruits of his forage, there grew a very definite protective sense, and it is this large and pleasurable feeling that the working woman *undermines*. Therefore he has tried to ignore her as much as possible, by way of conserving his vanity, and has redoubled his protective tenderness to those who have least need of it.

It is indeed true that the American man spoils his women by too much coddling, yet the slightest investigation soon develops that this manufacture of Noras is confined to houses of ease and comfort. Up to date the *working* woman has not been called upon to protest against being treated as a doll.

Plain enough for those who run to read, it stands proved that laws for the protection of the female worker now wait upon disaster and exposure, and that even when a shocked public opinion forces reforms, it is only a question of time when secret greed will tempt to nullify them.

The Triangle factory disaster, in which 147 girls lost their lives, was followed promptly enough by remedial legislation. The 1912 investigation into cannery conditions in New York, which proved that women had been working 117 hours a week, was also answered by laws designed to prevent a recurrence of this savagery. Yet the owner of the Triangle factory was never punished, and within the year he was arrested for locking the doors on 150 girls, and permitted to escape this second time with a nominal fine of $20. Nor is it less significant that these spring months have witnessed a concerted attempt to have the New York Legislature repeal the essential features of those laws which were passed in consequence of the Triangle disaster and the cannery horrors.

IT is only in the States where the women have the vote to protect themselves that there is adequate comprehension of the necessity for guarding the mother sex against the poison of fatigue. Colorado, California, Washington and Arizona have decreed an eight-hour day for the working woman, and Utah and Idaho have the nine-hour day. The nearest approach to this humanity is a nine-hour day for women in four non-suffrage States, and the case of Massachusetts is admirably illustrative of the cautious manner in which the male voter approaches the problem.

There are 50,000 manufacturing establishments in Massachusetts, yet the total inspecting force is twenty-four. Although there are over 200,000 women and children at work in these factories, only four of the inspectors are women. Unlike the equal suffrage States, where all working women are included in the law, the Massachusetts statute excludes practically all women except those in factories and mills.

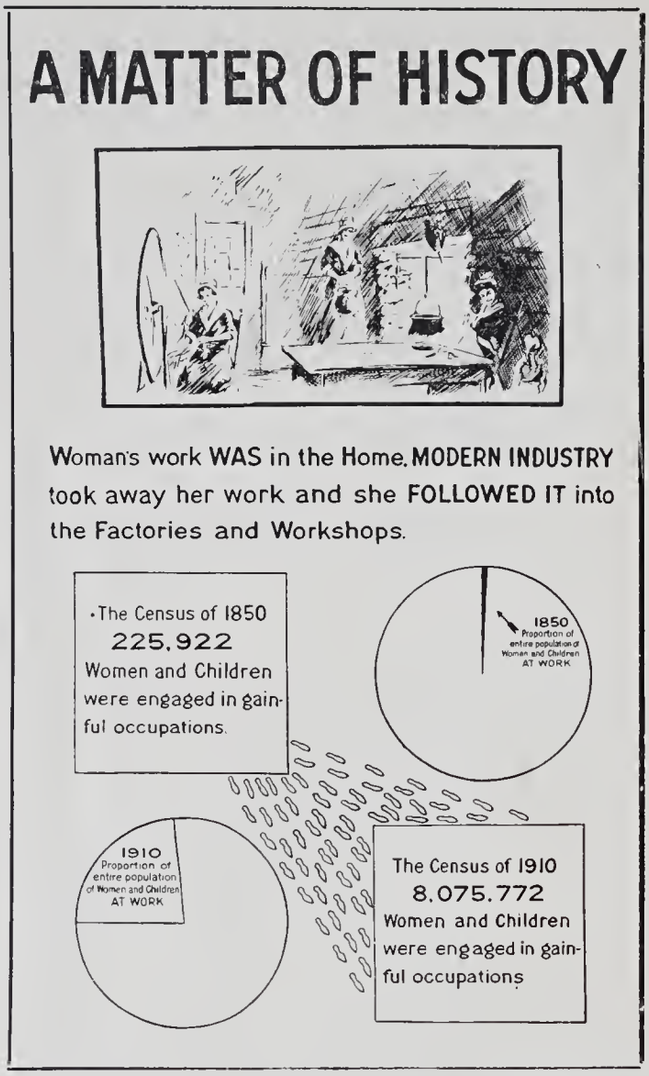
In the South, where chivalry still retains its ancient place and lustre, the working day for women is eleven and twelve hours in the mills and factories; in New Jersey the cranberry bogs feel the creeping knees of women and children from dawn to dark; in New York the machines of the tenements drive night and day, and in Pennsylvania the industrial conditions have changed but slightly since the not long distant time when half-naked women toiled tremendously in the hot glare of the blast furnaces.

Can anyone have forgotten the recent investigations into the conditions of department store employees, or the long discussions in the daily press as to whether $5 or $8 a week was a "living wage?" Surely the heart of chivalry must have throbbed with pride to read the stories of underpaid drudgery, disregarded health and superhuman effort to safeguard character and chastity against the demoralizing effects of involuntary poverty.

As an instance of the manner in which the chivalric instinct finds expression where the working woman is concerned, the case of a Paterson manufacturer by the name of Straus may be mentioned. Mr. Straus felt that the happiness of his workers proceeded from their own weak submission to the grosser appetites. In various talks to the women he told them that they would "be all right" if they would only practice greater economy in their homes, for with his own eyes he had noticed that many things were thrown into the garbage can that could have been used to keep down the high cost of living. Among other things he noted that many of the girls did not eat all of the five cents' worth of soup at the luncheon hour, and his suggestion was to the effect that two girls should contribute to the purchase of the pail, thereby saving two and a half cents.

Colorado, Washington, Oregon, Utah and California, of the equal suffrage States, have already enacted splendid minimum wage legislation with reference to women, while only four of the non-suffrage States have displayed a similar interest. In California, Washington, and Oregon, the voting woman has created welfare commissions empowered to explore all the dark corners of industry in order that old cruelties may be cleaned out, and room made for new justices.

Child labor is a rotting evil that even its paid apologists are compelled to gloss over with lies. Every equal suffrage State has a law forbidding the employment of children under fourteen, while in Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi (boys only) and New Mexico, little ones of twelve are permitted to drudge ten and even eleven hours a day. Let it be remembered that the child labor evil is a *woman* evil as well, for the girls, unless sent to the grave by exhaustion, must be regarded as the mothers of the future.



Elizabeth Watson. —National Consumers' League.

IT took twelve years—from 1895 to 1907—to get a law raising the Alabama age limit for children from ten to twelve years. The eight years that have passed have been years of similar effort, yet the "silent influence" of the women remains powerless to lift the law to an age limit of fourteen years. In Maryland, the same legislature that refused to submit an equal suffrage amendment to the voters, lowered the age at which children could work in the canneries from twelve to ten.

For many years the government has spent millions of dollars upon such obvious materialities as the boll weevil, soil betterment, Texas fever, the foot and mouth disease and seed experiments, yet it was not until 1912 that the men of the nation were able to force the creation of a Children's Bureau. Here was a wise tenderness that considered the child from cradle to maturity with special reference to the welfare of those little ones compelled to enter the world of work at an unseemly age. It was only by the greatest effort that an initial appropriation of $50,000 was secured for the Bureau, and even in the face of its proved value, the same grudging, niggardly policy is being pursued by Congress in the matter of maintenance.

There are few, even among men, who will deny that women teachers are as efficient as men, yet the fact remains that it is only in the equal suffrage States that equal pay for the same work is the rule. In Massachusetts, for instance, the average pay of the male teacher is three times that of the woman. In New York it took six years of fighting for the teachers to get an equal pay law, and it was the bitter experience of those years that made an ardent equal suffragist of Miss Grace Strachan, leader of the teachers.

In Chicago, where the teachers organized and compelled the institution of legal proceedings against the tax-dodging corporations in order to get money for the school fund, the thousands thus secured were straightway devoted to raising the salaries of firemen and policemen. They were *men with votes,* while the teachers, as a politician phrased it wittily, were no better than mice.

In the federal employment, four women pass the civil service examinations to three men, yet appointments are made in the ratio of two men to one woman. It is also the case that men are paid more than women for the same work.

In New York, a wife is not entitled to her own earnings when she works with her husband, or even if she works in his store or factory. According to a man's law, the joint earnings of a husband and wife belong to the husband, the wife acquiring no legal interest whatever in the product of their joint efforts.

In some non-suffrage States it is still the law that the husband may check out his wife's savings, and in many others the working mother has no rights in the earnings of a minor child, the commonwealth viewing them as the perquisites of the father.

It is a record of injustice that could be continued indefinitely, for only in the States where women have

(*Concluded on Page* 26.)

WITH OUR ALLIES—THE ANTIS

For the best anti-suffrage "pearl" sent to this office before June 15th we will give a year's subscription to *The Woman Voter.* The Advisory Committee and *The Voter* editorial staff will act as judges. Help the campaign by sending your favorite anti-quotation. It may win converts where suffrage arguments fail.

ANTIS AND WAGE-EARNERS PASTE PEARLS

PRIZE PEARL

The secretary of the Wage-Earners' Anti-suffrage League pays the following tribute to the wage-earning women of the United States:

All that which lies beyond the home, such as great institutions, great industries and commerce, are the creation of masculine intellect and strength.

"Of the five million wage-earning women, few would prove to be our most intelligent voters—as the last United States census shows how they can be classified. One entire quarter of the whole five millions or so are domestic servants (cooks, waitresses, chambermaids, kitchenmaids, etc.). More than another quarter are *public* laundresses, farm hands and dressmakers."

It can therefore safely be said that a majority of these women who are at work, are still satisfied to have the government in the hands of the men, and that the working woman's cry for the vote is truly that of a minority of *her own class.*" (Italics not supplied.)

"The wage-earning woman's vote could be bought wherever a wage-earning man's vote could be bought, and there are nearly a million foreign-born women in New York City."

"As the home is the unit of our National life, the obligation of suffrage rests upon the adult male representing the family group.

That some women are not thus represented does not imply that their rights are in jeopardy, but rather *that they are safeguarded by the chivalry of men to whom the names 'home' and 'woman' are peculiarly sacred.*"

The Assemblymen in the New York Legislature who voted for the amended Bewley canneries bill which was destined to remove all restrictions as to hours of labor as well as the Congressmen (all Antis except one) who voted against the Federal Child Labor Bill might be named as holding "peculiarly sacred" the welfare of women and children.

"The wages of women have not been raised in the States where women vote."—*The Woman's Protest.*

The Annalist (April 19, 1915) published by the *New York Times,* reports an investigation of the Washington minimum wage law by the Industrial Welfare Commission, as follows:

"The sequence of two years' operations is that there are vastly more women workers in the State receiving a living wage than there were when the law was enacted; that there are more higher paid girls now than there were then, that the whole wage standard and the standard of efficiency has been raised, and that industry itself has learned that higher paid workers are better workers."

Suffrage States which have passed minimum wage laws are California, Colorado, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Kansas.

ON FIVE DOLLARS A WEEK

"Woman may work, earn money, and spend it as she pleases."

—One of the *pink* pills on the *pink* slips.

BACK TO THE KITCHEN

The woman in industry is, after all, a transient. A training that will lead her to apply her powers with appreciation and enthusiasm to domestic and not to political life is what she needs.—*Ida M. Tarbell.*

ANTI-IRONY

I believe that, when all the cooks and chambermaids, waitresses and laundresses get the vote, such a large measure of intelligence will be added to the voting population that great benefit will naturally redound to the State.

THE SHELTERED EIGHT MILLION

In every normal civilized State the woman becomes relieved more and more of the hard work and drudgery —in order to have time for the cultivation and inspiration of those things that make a nation great.

DEMOCRACY

We note that the proposition is to put the ballot in the hands of *all* women, without regard to race, color, past or present condition of servitude and turpitude, and *not* to limit it to the hand-picked specimens which most men have in mind when they declare in favor of woman suffrage.—*Annie Riley Hale to the Senate.*

ANTI-BOUQUETS

In a pamphlet issued by The Guidon Club, a "college woman opposed to woman suffrage" pays the following compliment to our Congressmen:

"Yesterday it was my privilege to listen to the arguments presented by members of the House of Representatives for and against woman suffrage, and as I listened, I for one woman, thanked God that I had no vote, and therefore was not responsible for the specimens of statesmanship that I beheld. . Shades of our forefathers!. What has happened to the mantle of Jefferson?"

CHIVALRY

Women have been so long immune by reason of their sex from attacks by men that they seem to have forgotten that when it comes to trial of brute force woman is bound to go to the wall.

MASTERFUL MEN

When women underbid men in the labor markets of the world, oppose them in their political ambitions, use their sex equipment of weakness, or charm, or what not, as a weapon in the struggle for existence, then there may be bred a real sex antagonism, which will be crushed out eventually by the stronger sex, brutally and easily, simply by virtue of their strength.

ANTI-CHIVALRY IN ACTION

"When one sees a woman of dignified presence and cultivated appearance greeted with torrents of hisses and insults from the frenzied lips of both men and other women, when one sees her finally driven from the platform with no chance of speaking a word, *one is tempted to retire to some quiet spot for a moment and meditate on what it all means.* (Italics were supplied by *The Woman's Protest.*)

WITH APOLOGIES TO THE PUBLIC

"The anti-suffragists regret the necessity of raising money for their work when the unusual needs of the world make so many demands for help to relieve suffering and poverty. But the campaign forced upon them by the suffrage amendment leaves them no choice and they hope their friends and sympathizers will come to their aid."—*Press Appeal.*

Does a Woman Need a Vocation?

ROSE YOUNG

OR, put the question this way: Isn't housekeeping, home-making, a vocation of sufficient range in itself to engage all the time and all the talents of all the women in the world?

Or, this way: Shouldn't a woman be able to answer all the needs of her being, through all the stages of her life, in her personal relationships? As daughter, sister, wife, mother, grandmother?

But don't put it either way where the women who have to work for their living can hear you. Any nice academic consideration of woman and her relation to vocation, such as is to-day disturbing boards of education and making private citizens write letters to the newspapers, shouldn't be agitated within hearing distance of the women who have to work. They don't treat you politely when they hear it. They hurry on past you to the mill and the factory and the shop and the office, chortling at you more or less grimly.

To these women life has said brusquely: "Get to work. Father can't support you. Brother can't. Husband can't." One might think—when the champions of woman's-place-is-in-the-home get to champing—one might think that life was never so inconsiderate as to say that to a woman—one might thing that no woman had to think of a vocation except as a matter of choice—that to every woman a home was assured—a little silk-lined nest—and that all any woman had to do was decide whether the lining should be of pale blue or pale pink. But to drape the issue in silk is not to obscure it effectually for us women who have to work. To the woman to whom comes the challenge: "You work or you starve," that assumption of the waiting nest, that talk of woman finding her vocation in the home is distinctly ridiculous.

If you are going to talk like that, remember to talk it only of, and to, the privileged women who have homes. Personally, I am strongly for driving the question up into the residential districts, as it were. To drive it up there is to lift the problem of woman's vocational capacity from the plane of economics to the plane of ethics. To go into a vocation because you are whipped into one by economic necessity is to give only the least conscious reaction to life's outer pressures. To go into a vocation when you might go to a matinee, or go to sleep, is to assert yourself from within as a conscious, undriven, freely exercising individual.

JUST so soon, however, as the question of a vocation for women is considered in terms of choice and not of necessity, there is a muddle of language. People call out that wifehood is itself a vocation. They talk of the vocation of motherhood. The personal and domestic service necessary to the creature comfort of the child becomes confused with the spiritual ministration to the child. We are afraid that there can be no such thing as mother-love unless the woman who does the loving of the child is the woman who does the scrubbing and the sweeping and the mending and the cooking for the child. We refuse to admit that there is any distinction to be made between mothering and housekeeping.

Yet one is function, physical and spiritual, and the other is vocation. What is to-day clearing up the difference between them is that men are finding housekeeping pursuits available as vocation. As these pursuits are unified and professionalized and got on a money-making basis men snap them up for their vocational value. The more men housekeepers there are—hotel managers, stewards, chefs, apartment-house superintendents, etc.—the plainer it grows that there must be some subtle difference between mothering and housekeeping, and that the latter may be justly regarded as vocation for either men or women, and not as just destiny for women.

Once we get wifehood and motherhood as function dissociated from housekeeping as vocation, our question really narrows down to whether or not, as things are going to-day, there is enough of vocational range and value in the housekeeping units that still dot the landscape, to utilize the vocational capacity of the women who run them. The unescapable point here is that community service and co-operative living are touching the most detached housekeeping unit. Every year the home, however remote, gives evidence that it doesn't stand still. It is on wheels.

And you can't hold Charlotte Perkins Gilman responsible, though some people would like to. For a hundred years before Mrs. Gilman's day, the home was moving forward, away from soap-making and hog-killing and the brewing of beverages, the spinning of cloth and the tailoring of men's clothes. And a thousand years before that the home's impermanence of form was being fought by those who think of change in terms of disaster. Why, you can find outcries against change in the home, the forward impulsion of the home—indirectly aimed at woman's progress, of course—in the ancient wisdom of the Chaldees, or the Culdees—if you like the Culdees better—in the sacred literature of India, B. C. 2,000, or in Mr. Dick Steele's fulminations in the *Tatler*, A. D. 1709, and you couldn't tell from any one of them but what you had lifted it bodily from the editorial page of the New York *Times*.

YET now, as always, there is, and must be, the liveliest sort of effort to adapt the way of living to the needs of the life of the time, and now, as always, women are having to scamper to keep up with the home. I know that out on the prairies and in the little towns there are still plenty of "old-fashioned homes," without a kitchen sink, and white-faced women in them who still find so much "vocation" in the home that they don't want you to even give them the vote for fear it may mean more work.

And I know how mortally busy is the woman with a family of little children. But children have a way of growing up and leaving their mother confronted anew with the question of a vocation. And the prairies come nearer and nearer to the cities. Year by year the country at large takes over from the city the easy way of doing work, the machine way—for house as well as for farm. Year by year the woman on the prairie gains more time and loses some part of her work, approaches more nearly to the plight of the flat-dwelling, vocationless woman of the cities.

What is that vocationless woman to do with herself? What is the community to do with her? Is she to lie around all over creation, in a kimona, eating chocolates? Half the trouble in the world comes from that kimona-clad tribe of chocolate munchers. They get into all sorts of silly intrigues, sex and social, because they have not enough to do, and they drag the rest of the world in with them.

IT really looks, if you ask woman herself, as if she wanted to work; as if she felt the need of the vocational interest; as if she wanted her human faculties exercised, used. Take the teacher-mother problem that has developed in New York, and in many other cities, as a case in point. The teacher-mother stands accused of wantonly sacrificing her mother capacity to her vocational capacity. But as between baby and teaching, the teacher-mothers are not choosing teaching. They are choosing both.

(*Concluded on Page 26.*)

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

Adaline W. Sterling

MAY DAY

EVERYTHING was golden-hued in Washington Square on May 1st—decorated automobiles, sashes and pennants, district banners and leaflets and glorious sunshine intensifying all. It was Suffrage Day, the seed time of our final campaign and just six months to the eve of November 2nd, when we shall gather the harvest.

Ours was a division of the automobile parades occurring simultaneously in all the five boroughs. Naturally we expected that the sixty automobiles and the auxiliary Fifth Avenue 'bus would flash around the corner of Washington Square at two-thirty, sharp. It was somewhat disconcerting, therefore, when the appointed time arrived to find another parade was passing through Washington Arch northward bound on our very route. But our friends, the police, utilized a break in the competing ranks, the official hand held the marchers back, the bugle sounded the charge, and a flying wedge of decorated cars dashed through the breach. For some distance red pennants waved a greeting as the autos sped past.

Every one of the thirty Assembly Districts of Manhattan had one or more cars in line, and there were automobiles filled by committees working among foreign voters, German, French, Scandanavian, Bohemian. The only national flag displayed on any car was the Stars and Stripes.

At the Empire State Campaign Headquarters a group of workers in the middle of the street faced the oncoming automobiles. These women were collectors of willing tribute to the Melting Pot. Into the outstretched brass platters from the hands of the occupants of cars dropped contributions of every sort from a silver thimble to a silver ladle, jewelry, purses, watches, trinkets of all kinds, given unselfishly and generously.

Onward up Fifth Avenue the procession sped, the bugles playing, the pennants flying, and the spectators applauding. At the Plaza ranks were broken, and each automobile proceeded to its assigned place and speaking began. The localities chosen were democratic in character, ranging from the bandstand on the Mall in Central Park to the Chelsea docks on the river front. Mrs. Laidlaw, Mrs. Catt, Miss Hay, Mrs. Whitehouse and Mrs. Dorr spoke in Central Park, and the suffrage orchestra of women furnished the music. Under the shadow of the Sherman statue was another group of speakers over whose head the bronze Victory held its wreath. Strollers on Riverside, frequenters of the parks east and west, the throngs at the Circle, and the longshoremen at the docks all heard the message of political and human equality at the two hundred meetings held.

And what happened in Manhattan happened also in commensurate degree in Brooklyn, the Bronx, Queens and Richmond. It was seed planting time and the soil was favorable, the stony places were infrequent and the sowing was so deep that the anti-suffrage birds of the air had no show for pickings.

POLITICAL RECEPTION

FOR ages past it has been the fashion of men of every sort to discourse at length, if not learnedly, on woman's sphere. Their singular unanimity in limiting this sphere to the realm of "cooking, church and children" has been a wearisome tale to the lectured of long years. Hence it was doubly delightful and refreshing on April 21st to listen to addresses from men who never mentioned the sphere and tacitly disavowed even acquaintance with the objectionable figure. This happened when politicians of every creed turned out in force at the reception given by the Party at Headquarters.

What a crowd was there, my sisters! Every inch of room occupied, the upper stairway filled, the principal stairway kept free only by constant vigilance, scores turned away from the door because there wasn't even standing room. And the speeches, all made by politicians, and the only advice given was on strictly political basis, just as any leader would give to his followers before election. "They spoke to us just like as if we were human beings," commented a Southern suffragist to a Northern sister. And so they did, William C. Bondy, president of the 29th Assembly District Republican Club setting the pace and concluding with an invitation to the suffragists to join his party. William Harmon Black, New York County Chairman of the Democratic Party, averred that he had never seen anything like the change of front in his organization towards woman suffrage in the last year, and suggested the women would find a welcome in Democratic ranks. Judge Ransom, of the Progressive Party, claimed that party affiliation was not the primary question, but was sure woman's moral influence will add to the electorate, and will bring them naturally in line with forward movements. Algernon Lee, of the Socialists, spoke strongly for the cause of equal suffrage. Every type of political leader and nationality was represented, and nearly everyone left the building an enrolled member of the Party. The home-made cake and home-brewed lemonade, and delicious coffee may have removed the last lingering doubt of some "who came to scoff," perhaps, and remained to enroll.

MOTHERS' DAY

THE vigorous suffrage propaganda has brought many of us into contact with the clergy of every denomination. Here again it is interesting to note a change of attitude. Our reverend brethren on the whole have been roused to the fact of "Mothers' Day" and its significance. Doors which have opened with difficulty, or not at all, to women speakers have flung wide their portals. The request for speaking is coming from within and not without, and many a priest, rector, pastor, preacher and rabbi are placing themselves on record. But the standpatter like the poor is still in evidence. Note the contrast in the following: "The way is not open for the presentation of the work of the *'Woman Suffragette Party,'* we carefully keep out of our public gatherings matters that can divide sentiment." And this, "I will gladly entertain a motion that this congregation endorse the cause of woman suffrage, I myself shall vote for the amendment," said the preacher of a smaller church at the close of a suffrage speaker's earnest plea. The motion was made and unanimously carried, and every man present enrolled. The founder of both denominations was named John—evidently there is a difference in Johns.

THE CAMPAIGN

THE coffee stage was reached at the biggest suffrage luncheon ever held, that of May 8th, at the Hotel Astor, when Mrs. Chapman Catt announced with convincing finality the purpose of the feast—to raise $50,000. "You think we cannot do it," she said, "but you will see that it is quite as simple a matter as it was to get the $100,000 which we raised at the mass meeting last November."

Then the practical demonstration began. From the campaign districts contributions came in thick and fast. Albany had $2,100 to offer; Miss Harriet May Mills sent $3,000 from her district; Rochester gave $1,000; Buffalo, $3,000, and Westchester, $6,000. Then came gifts from the city in equally generous proportion. The women teachers led off with $2,000. The Press Council announced $6,303 as the result of their efforts, and the ball kept rolling until the total was announced as $46,278. Then the women teachers, Mr. Laidlaw and Mrs. Catt each agreed to raise a third of the balance needed and the $50,000 was an accomplished fact. An easy proceeding, as Mrs. Catt justly claimed.

Incidentally a luncheon was served to 1,400 men and women, and eloquent speeches were made by Dudley Field Malone, who claimed he had been converted by Dr. Anna Shaw seven years before; by Dr. Anna Shaw who rescued this particular brand from the burning; by Granville Barker, and by the greatest Roman of them all—Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.

SUMMER WORK FOR SUFFRAGISTS

LET all suffragists plan to spend their vacations in New York State. It is not necessary to be a speaker to help the cause of freedom this summer. Quiet talks on summer porches will make many converts. Most people only need to be informed to be converted. Or you can canvass, and canvassing is most interesting work.

Those who can act, or sing, or play can get up entertainments. There are several good suffrage plays, which are easy to produce, requiring little or no scenery or special costumes. At the headquarters of the Empire State Campaign Committee, 303 Fifth Avenue, there will be kept a list of summer boarding houses and hotels recommended by the assembly district leaders in the beautiful country places where work is needed.

Make your vacation sojourn in one of these places and help the local workers. This list will be ready by the 1st of June, and may be seen at any time from 9 to 5 each day.

It is hoped that in some counties we may arrange tours with automobiles for those who can speak or sing or act to go from town to town trying to arouse enthusiasm as did the squad recently sent to Amsterdam, N. Y. The two weeks' stay of a party of five workers captured the town; they converted the editors of the papers, won the clergy so that every denomination was represented on the platform when Anna Shaw spoke, and people attended the lecture in such numbers that there was a great overflow meeting in the street. The same thing can be done in every town and village in the State if only we have people to go there and work simply and sincerely.

It is important to have literature with you. Be sure to take it. Excellent leaflets can be obtained at all headquarters; the Equal Franchise Society, 8 East 37th Street, has a series, including the suffrage map, which it sells at 25 cents a thousand. The Woman Voter is making special summer rates.

Finally, please send your name to the Recreation Bureau of the Empire State Campaign Committee, so that it may connect you with the leader of the county in which you are.

CANVASSING

"IF you would see interesting phases of life, canvass the voters in the crowded tenement districts. You will find pathos and humor side by side, you will know your fellow men as never before." This is the verdict of one of the most active of the many scores of canvassers who have toiled up long flights of stairs to find out how a single voter, perhaps, views the suffrage question. The finest, and most telling work that has been done for suffrage is that at present underway—canvassing. Could our men folks do any better political work than we are doing in this very direction? We have no jobs to offer, no promise of reward. We do not argue or persuade, we ask a civil question, we offer a leaflet or two, we disarm the surly with smiles, and we meekly accept new assertions as to our sphere, and then leave a specially prepared postal card for the voter to mark and forward in case he should change his mind.

LASTLY we are entering upon the final months of our campaign with united ranks, undiminished enthusiasm, and with unflinching determination to win. And win we must and shall, unless every present indication is false. For never has any cause advanced with the rapidity that has marked that of suffrage. We are adding to our friends every day, good, substantial friends, and the voice of opposition is but the weak pipe of the sluggard, "you have waked me too soon, I will slumber again."

WINNING THE "FOREIGN" VOTER

ONE out of every three voters in New York State is foreign born. Twenty-four per cent. of the men eligible to vote on the Woman Suffrage Amendment are foreign born, naturalized citizens.

According to the Census of 1910, there are 1,221,013 foreign born males over 21 years of age. Of these 41.1% or 502,083 are naturalized. The number of native white males over 21 years is 1,562,358, making the total number of males eligible to vote on our question 2,064,-441.

Of the foreign born in New York State, including women and men, there are 2,729,248. Of these, 20.5% are from Russia, 17.3% from Italy, 16% from Germany, 13.5% from Ireland, 9% from Austria, 5.4% from England, 4.5% from Canada, 3.5% from Hungary, 2% from Sweden, and from all other countries 8%.

These figures give some idea of the problem which the Empire State Campaign Committee must meet in winning the vote of the foreign-born population for woman suffrage. From the beginning of the Woman Suffrage Party, every effort has been made to reach the foreign born men and women through the district work.

Miss Dock's work among the Jewish and Italian voters of the East Side is well known. In the last issue of *The Woman Voter* she wrote of her results in a house to house canvas of her section of the city.

Miss Dock was a pioneer in work among foreigners; her banners in ten languages, her street meetings with Yiddish and Italian speakers, her foreign sandwich-boards have been features of street-life in the Ghetto. Hungarian, Syrian, Bohemian, Greek, Norwegian, Russian, German, Irish, Italian, Polish, Jewish, Turkish, Chinese, and other nationalities have been reached by various committees of the Woman Suffrage Party. Foreign literature has been widely circulated, and the newspapers of different nationalities have been used to carry suffrage propaganda.

During these last months of the campaign new committes to work among foreign born voters of various nationalities have been formed. This month we are glad to include the reports of the French and German Committees. We hope later to record the work of the Italian, Jewish, Norwegian, Hungarian, Bohemian and other Committees.

THE GERMAN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE

AT the business meeting of April 9th, the following sub-committees: A Bronx Committee, a Brooklyn Committee and a Committee on Membership, were added to the existing sub-committees, namely: The Press and Publicity Committee and the Committee on Public Meetings.

The second big open meeting of the German-American Committee of the Woman Suffrage Party was held on April 15th at the New York Turn Hall, 85th Street and Lexington Avenue. The audience, an entirely new one, numbered over seven hundred people, many of whom heard about suffrage for the first time. The chairman, Miss Katherine S. Dreier, presided, and the speakers were Dr. Hugo Schweitzer, Dr. Katherine B. Davis and Mrs. Raymond Robins. Mme. Ortmann delighted the audience with beautiful German songs. Our convincing speakers carried home the vital question at issue with the greatest force. The climax was reached and the strength of our cause clearly defined when the appeal for funds was met by a collection of $378.00.

On April 27th, the German-American Committee had its third dinner at Allaire's Scheffel Hall, 143 East 17th Street, and were met with the most cordial reception by the proprietors of the restaurant. Greater co-operation has never before been extended to any suffrage affair. The main dining room beautifully decorated with national flags and our suffrage banners was turned over to our committee, as well as the regular orchestra, which was placed at our disposal. The menu cards were especially printed on yellow paper with our name and "Victory November 2nd" on them. All this was done voluntarily for our committee by Messrs. Allaire. At this dinner an appeal was made for money for a special German-American banner, and in the shortest possible time there was a response of $40.00 for this purpose. These dinners have helped more than anything else to overcome the most difficult feature of the work undertaken by the German-American voter that suffrage is *not* pledged to Prohibition, according to the official statement of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.

The German-American Committee took part in the big Automobile Parade on May 1st, having nine cars which were filled with our members and were decorated with our colors.

On the afternoon of May 4th a very beautiful reception and tea was given to our committee by Mrs. Isaac Guggenheim at her home, 410 Park Avenue. Mrs. Raymond Robins spoke and Mme. Ortmann again sang. Here we had another audience to whom for the most part suffrage was presented for the first time. That a deep impression was made by the splendid address of Mrs. Robins, which touched the hearts and opened the eyes of the eager listeners, is shown by the many offers of help which have come to the chairman since this meeting. The gracious hospitality of our hostess had a wonderfully stimulating effect on many who never realized or fully appreciated the power of the great woman's movement.

On May 8th, the German-American Committee took part in two important affairs. We had three tables at the big suffrage luncheon at the Hotel Astor and a box in the evening at the big "Fledermaus" benefit at the Metropolitan Opera House.

The regular monthly business meeting took place at Headquarters on May 10th. All sub-committees bringing in fine reports and important summer plans discussed. Final arrangements for the fourth and last dinner meeting to be held in Manhattan until fall, were made.

The Brooklyn and Bronx Sub-committees have both held organization meetings and the work in these Boroughs is being pushed forward. The press work, particularly in all German newspapers and magazines, both in New York City and Up-State, has taken on astonishing proportions, considering the extremely conservative field into which for the past six months we have carried our message.

The various German societies have responded most cordially to our offer to send speakers to their meetings and these speakers have always been welcomed. The membership to May 15th is 483 and we are progressing in every direction.

BERTHA VON ZASTROW

FRENCH-AMERICAN COMMITTEE

THE French Committee is just two months old. There are weekly business meetings at headquarters, and notices have been sent out to our French friends, inviting them for tea on Monday afternoons. The Committee appeared in full force at the Russian Bazaar. French Churches have been visited and appeals made for meetings. A French leaflet has been worked out and is ready for distribution. The Committee consists of Mrs. Bazinet, Mrs. Clarence Buel, Mrs. Blackland, Mrs. Melbert Cary, Mrs. George Place and Mrs. Weeks.

An evening meeting was held at the French Branch of the Young Woman's Christian Association. Dr. Gabriel spoke for "both sides of the suffrage question," while Mrs. Weeks' remarks were distinctly one sided. The audience was an entirely new one.

There were also about two hundred debutantes in suffrage circles at an afternoon reception given in honor of the distinguished Frenchman, Mr. Jules Bois, official representative of the French Government, to the Panama Exposition. Suffragists are fortunate in having so eloquent an advocate. The address of Mr. Bois was notable for literary distinction, as well as for clear insight into equal suffrage ideals. One of the audience offered to pay for printing this speech. Mr. Bois kindly consented and the publication will soon be on sale at Party Headquarters—undoubtedly a great acquisition to suffrage literature.

The French newspaper, *Courrier des Etates Unis,* has published notices of all our doings and proved themselves a friend indeed by discovering a French stenographer for the manuscript of Mr. Bois, who speaks no English. The French stenographer is a *rara avis* for many reasons. In rendering her account, she made a generous deduction "as a contribution to the cause, having been entirely converted by the dictation."

Madame Bazinet is preparing lists and classifications for systematic canvassing. She will also arrange for special summer work. A recruit is canvassing the Jean D'Arc home of two hundred girls for practice. She hopes later to undertake a broader field.

The French Committee appeared in the Auto Parade with a real French chauffeur, who not only worked hard to decorate the car, but promptly enrolled, saying he had "heard all about the committee." Although the French are known to be a polite-at-any-price-people, there are so few of them in town that possibly even the beginnings of our work may have spread abroad. We have joyfully adopted the Belgians and the Swiss, and though we must still remain small in numbers, we are great in expectations.

Our big meeting of the season will be held on May 29th, at eight o'clock in the evening. The French Young Men's Christian Association are giving us their fine hall and most cordial support. Mrs. Buel will read. Mrs. Weeks and Mr. Bois will speak. This meeting as all our meetings will be conducted entirely in French. Everybody is welcome.

The Committee anticipate pleasant work, and good results from the French Colony in New York. Our cause must surely find support among a people whose firmament of thought is illumined by those bright stars—*Liberté, Egalité et Fraternité.*

Anna Ross Weeks.

VOTE FOR
WOMAN SUFFRAGE
NOVEMBER 2nd, 1915

FROM THE ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS

Summary of Activities, March 20th to May 20th.

MANHATTAN

2ND ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

NOON meeting at Coenties Slip, May 12th. Noon meetings twice a week at different points on the East River. Canvassing in the Italian sections of the district.

3RD ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

ITALIAN meeting at Public School No. 21. Canvassing Bowery lodging houses. Meeting in the Vigilant Hotel, Bowery. Canvassing Italian, Jewish and English speaking sections of the district.

4TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

CANVASSING and distribution of literature in the Jewish and English speaking sections, and at the Hoe Printing Works. Meeting of the Suffrage Forum at Henry Street Settlement, May 4th. Mrs. Norman Whitehouse, speaker.

6TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

JOINT meeting of the 6th and 10th Assembly Districts at Tompkins Square, S. E. May 8th. Speeches in Polish, Yiddish, Hungarian, and English. Similar meeting on the 15th at Tompkins Square, N. E.

7TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

THREE captains' meetings. Two public meetings.

8TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

OPENING of district headquarters at the office of the leader, 55 Delancey Street. May Day participation in the Labor Parade with banners with the suffrage demand in English, Yiddish, Russian, Hungarian Polish, Italian, Greek, and Turkish. Regular meetings of the Guild Suffrage League. Address by Miss Hinchey before the Metropolitan Street Cleaners' Association at Odd Fellows Hall. Literature distributed to the several political clubs on May Day.

9TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

MEETING at the ethodist Church, West 35th Street. Speaking by invitation before the local Democratic Club. Mrs. Florence Howe Hall, speaker. Canvassing by election districts.

10TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

MEETINGS Saturday afternoons, May 22nd and 29th, at Tompkins Square. Distribution of Suffrage maps to the political clubs.

11TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

MEETING at the hall of the Sacred Heart School, under the auspices of the St. Catherine's Welfare Guild. Introduction of suffrage slides into moving picture shows. Speech by invitation before the Men's Club of the Janes M. E. Church, by Mrs. Churchill of Colorado. Canvassing vigorously carried on.

12TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

CANVASSING bee, May 12th, followed by supper at the home of the leader. Public meeting at the Friends' Seminary. Hearing before the Democratic County Committee..

School for watchers was held at Washington Irving High School.

13TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

Regular twice-a-week canvassing parties.

14TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

Weekly canvassing bees. Young folks' debate.

15TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

THREE automobiles in the May Day Parade, followed by a large street meeting. A parlor meeting, speaker, Prof. George W. Kirchwey, of Columbia University. Two canvassing teas. Sale of 105 tickets for the baseball game.

16TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

STREET meetings each week in connection with canvassing. Hearing before the House-Masons and Bridgemans' Union, speaker, Miss Mary Newcomb. Hearing before the Democratic Club.

17TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

DISTRIBUTION of literature at the Subway stations. Canvassing parties twice a week. Street meetings every night at 96th Street and Broadway. Other meetings at 101st Street and Manhattan Avenue. Captains' meeting every Monday afternoon.

18TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

DISTRICT Club meeting. Public meeting at National Bohemian Hall. Street meetings every Friday and Saturday. Canvassing every Saturday and alternate Sundays. Hearing before the Ivy Club May 17th.

19TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

PUBLIC meeting at the Republican Club, speakers, Miss Helen Varick Boswell, Mrs. Walter Hervey, Alderman Wm. D. Brush. Joint meeting with the Men's League on Suffrage Day at Grant's Tomb, Riverside Drive. Street meeting at 110th Street and Broadway, May 15th, in conjunction with William Lloyd Garrison Equal Suffrage Club; speakers, Mrs. Henry Villard, Miss Portia Willis, George Creel. Meetings every Monday evening Broadway and 110th Street. Regular canvassing bees. Opening of district headquarters, the first floor of 316 W. 108th Street, by courtesy of Mrs. J. Aspinwall Hodge, May 20th.

21ST ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

MEETING at the Progressive Club, April 29th. Parlor meeting with Rev. Allan McCurdy as speaker. Regular business meeting. Hearing before the Holy Name Society, of the Church of the Annunciation, speaker, Miss Katherine Blake. Mass meeting in the Salem M. E. Church (colored), May 13th, addressed by Mrs. Anna R. Weeks, Mr. Royall and Mr. E. O. Perry.

22ND ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

CAPTAINS' meeting. Canvassing every Friday night. Two street meetings on Suffrage Day. Mass meeting, May 20th, at Public School No. 66.

23RD ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

MEETINGS of Study Club. Opening of headquarters, 207th Street. Speaking classes and canvassing. Meeting of St. Catherine Welfare Association. Four Men's League meetings. District monthly meeting in Commonwealth Hall, Amsterdam Avenue, May 18th. A conference of workers every Wednesday. During the last month there have been also a tea, a card party, and a social evening.

24TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

TWO executive meetings and two public meetings. Regular canvassing bees begun on May 19th, to be continued every other evening until June 1st.

25TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

THE district has completed the work begun a year ago of calling on all registered voters. About one-third of those visited were seen, and literature was left for the others. Suffrage slides were placed in five moving picture houses, some of the slides to be run until November 2nd. In conjunction with the 12th District a school for watchers was opened May 25th, in the Washington Irving High School. Canvassing is still continued.

26TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

ONE workers' meeting. Political clubs visited to get captains' lists. Talk at graduation exercises, Public School No. 72. Suffrage slides placed in local moving picture houses. Hearing before the Progressive Club. Inauguration of open-air meetings, May 8th, at 110th Street and 5th Avenue.

27TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

REGULAR weekly business meetings on Monday evenings at the home of the leader. Parlor meeting for "antis" on May 10th, at 201 W. 55th Street; one conversion reported. Weekly street meeting at Broadway and 46th Street, N. W.

31ST ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

HEARING before the Cayuga Democratic Club, May 4th. There was an unusually large attendance. Suffrage speakers were Mrs. Lillian Griffin and Mr. E. O. Perry. The regular club speakers, especially Messrs. Allen and Robinson, from the platform endorsed suffrage and urged the men to give the matter serious attention before election.

BROOKLYN

3RD ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

TWO regular meetings. Factory meetings at noon hour. Canvassing every Tuesday.

8TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

ONE public meeting. Canvassing two evenings each week.

9TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

EIGHT STREET meetings. Two executive meetings. One mass meeting. Annual meeting of the Sunset Suffrage Club. Monthly meeting of the Bay Ridge Suffrage Club. Rummage sale. Six meetings of the school for watchers at the polls.

10TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

Continued canvassing.

11TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

ONE executive meeting. Two street meetings. Addresses before two clubs. Canvassing every evening.

12TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

DISTRICT meeting on May 4th addressed by Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe. Hearing on May 7th, before the Rector's Aid Society of All Saints Church, Mrs. Martha W. Suffren, speaker. Canvassing and distribution of Mondell speech.

16TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

FOUR public meetings. Three workers' meetings. Canvassing bees.

BRONX

30TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

PUBLIC speaking class every Friday evening at headquarters, conducted by the leader, Mrs. Edna S. Kopp. Hearing before the Republican Club and McGary Association. Canvassing.

32ND ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

FIVE parlor and neighborhood meetings. "Mothers' Day" rally at the Willis Avenue M. E. Church, speaker, Mrs. Mary D. Fisk. Meeting for Catholics on May 17th, at 187 Alexander Avenue. Hearing before the Republican County Committee, 3509 White Plains Avenue, May 21st, Mrs. Alice Burke, speaker.

33RD ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

MAY Party at headquarters. Monday evening socials. Junior Suffrage Brigade organized. Suffrage week at Keith's Theatre. Mothers' meeting, Public School No. 3, addressed by suffrage speakers. First meeting of the Bronx German-American Committee. Canvassing bees held weekly.

34TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

HEARINGS before churches; at Norwegian Church, Vyse Avenue; at Dr. Hess's Congregational Church, and before the Men's Club of the Church of the Advocate. Two hearings in public schools, also before Royal Arcanum, Mohawk Council, Y. M. H. A., and Crotona Club.

35TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

TWO suffrage teas. A neighborhood meeting. Debate at Young Women's Christian Association. Meetings on Washington Avenue, Fordham Road, and Highbridge section. Suffrage hearing before the Henry D. Purroy Association, a Democratic Club. Meeting of the Democratic Bachelor Girls' Club, May 15th, at 1253 Washington Avenue. Principal speaker, Hon. Peter Donovan.

QUEENS

CANVASSING parties met at 100 Hardenbrook Avenue Jamaica, 334 Flushing Avenue, Jamaica, and Library Building, Richmond Hill, and visited voters in their respective localities. Mr. Herbert A. O'Brien spoke at a street meeting, Jamaica, May 15th. A mass meeting was held at 319 Fulton Street, Jamaica, on May 22nd, at which the speakers were Mrs. E. G. Bullard, Miss Louise Grant, and Edgar P. Hazleton.

A YELLOW Auto Parade will be held in Queens Boro on June 12th. Every section of the borough will be represented, and prizes will be awarded to the prettiest and also to the most uniquely decorated car. All decorations must be in yellow to compete for the prizes. Several of the most prominent citizens of the borough have agreed to act as judges of the contest.

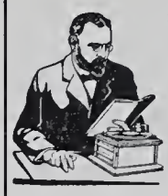
The Parade will pass through the principal streets of Jamaica and Forest Hills, and at its conclusion there will be an open-air meeting. All particulars regarding arrangements for entering the parade may be had by writing Mrs. Alfred J. Eno, at her headquarters, 319 Fulton Street, Jamaica.

Entrance blanks must be secured. Many prominent suffragists will drive their owu cars.

A real **live** newspaper, called "Queensboro Equality," will be issued semi-monthly, devoted exclusively to suffrage. The first issue will appear on June 7th. The paper will be published under the supervision of Mrs. Alfred J. Eno, with Miss G. A. Hunter, an experienced newspaper woman, as editor.

This well known method has revolutionized the study of foreign languages.

FRENCH, GERMAN, SPANISH, ITALIAN



You can learn in the privacy of your home, during spare moments. No embarrassment, tiresome rules, or appointments. Simply listen to the native professor's voice pronounce each word and phrase until you know it. Study actually becomes a pleasant mental diversion by the

LANGUAGE-PHONE METHOD
and Rosenthal's Practical Linguistry

Thousands of women have acquired French or other languages, on their own talking machines, by this method. An excellent way to "brush up" on the languages you studied at the school or college. Send for booklet, particulars of easy terms and free trial offer.

The Language-Phone Method
905 Putnam Bldg., 2 West 45th St., near 5th Ave., N. Y.

These women offer a most attractive combination—high grade work and low prices.

High-Grade Printing and Engraving

UNION LABEL

SMITH & BROWN, 154 Nassau St., New York
Bessie M. Smith **Beatrice Brown**

Full line of office supplies. Write today for representative to call.

We have had some splendid work from

Suite 323-324 **'Phone, Murray Hill, 4713**

Miss Margaret M. Murphy

PUBLIC STENOGRAPHER AND NOTARY PUBLIC

FORTY-SECOND STREET AND MADISON AVENUE
(FORTY-SECOND STREET BUILDING)
NEW YORK CITY

Accountings		Meetings
Banquets		Plays
Conventions	Visiting Secretary	References
Copying	Law Reporting	Reports
Correspondence	Mimeographing	Specifications
Inventories	Multigraphing	Tabulating
Lectures	Translations	Testimony
Legal Work	Addressing and Mailing	Typewriting

DO YOU KNOW

That the Woman Suffrage Party serves a

SPLENDID LUNCHEON
Every Noon for Twenty-five Cents?

We Would Be Glad to See You Here

48 EAST 34th STREET

RICHMOND

1ST ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

MEETING at St. Mark's M. E. Church, Amboy Road, Pleasant Plains. Mrs. Brewer and Mr. S. A. Reeve, speakers. Reception, April 28th, given by Mrs. Edwin Markham, at her home, Westerleigh. Mrs. Raymond Brown, Mrs. Willcox, and the hostess spoke. Church meeting at Great Kills, May 4th. Workers' conference at Willcox Gymnasium, addressed by Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe, on canvassing methods. Suffrage Day celebration included two decorated automobiles, a bugler, six speakers and forty-five workers. Fifty-six miles were covered, fourteen street meetings held, and 308 enrollments taken. Street meetings held during the month at Tompkinsville and Clifton.

THE "PROTECTED SEX" IN INDUSTRY

GEORGE CREEL

(*Continued from Page* 17.)

the vote do the statute books contain full measure of protection for the woman who is compelled to match her strength with man in the economic struggle. Intelligence points out the inevitableness of this fact, for even did a very perfection of the social sense urge men to legislate in behalf of the woman worker, he could still be without proper comprehension of her needs and desires.

It is when one compares these neglects with the tender solicitude shown to the working *man* that the true power of the ballot is fully realized. There is a federal law limiting the hours of labor in public employment to eight per day, an enactment that safeguards the thousands of letter-carriers, mail clerks, department employees and construction laborers. Twenty States have similar laws with respect to public employment, practically all of them specifically designed to protect the adult male worker.

Private employment of *men* in industry is also limited to eight hours a day as follows: in mines, twelve states; in smelters, eight states; in railroad labor, twenty-four states; telegraph or telephone operators engaged in handling trains, eighteen states; street car service, ten states; bakeries, brickyards, cement and plaster mills and drug clerks, one state each. Counted up there are sixty-five separate and distinct laws in the United States for the protection of the voting male against overwork.

Are there any fatuous enough to imagine that these laws would have been secured by the working man had he not been possessed of the ballot? The whole record of industrial reform is a story of bitter and continuous struggle, and success after many defeats. Mark the present progress of such an admittedly wise and humane measure as workmen's compensation! In eight states, the old common law defenses of "fellow servant" and "assumed risk" are still on the statute books and in seventeen states their abrogation applies only to railroads. Even with the ballot in their hands, even with all the power of state and national organizations behind them, the fight of the male worker for justice is not yet won. How may woman, unorganized for the most part, and burdened by prejudices, carried down from a feudal society, be expected to make her fight for better conditions unless given the vote?

In view of the millions who are drudging for existence, equal suffrage cannot be put aside as a mere political question. It is a demand upon justice and humanity. In no sense can it be viewed as a capricious desire of Noras for a greater freedom, a larger field, a more expansive environment. It is a hunger cry, a child cry, a cry of distress and despair.

It is true that these millions work and suffer and die in seeming helplessness, but in money and tears they take heavy toll of the society that refuses them succor. Their slum homes foster disease, their rickety children fill the jails, asylums and hospitals, and out of it all comes a vast discontent that saps the foundations of our free institutions.

If the humanities mean nothing to us, if chivalry is a meaningless word and justice a joke, surely every instinct of social *self-preservation* should lead us to give the working woman a chance to secure the protection that man has withheld.—*Reprinted from the Suffrage Number of Harper's Weekly.*

"There is not a greater disgrace existing in the world to-day than that our women should not be allowed to vote while foreigners, who know nothing of our government or our institutions and have no interest in them, should be allowed to vote. That such a condition should exist in a civilized country is astounding beyond belief.—*Luther Burbank.*

DOES A WOMAN NEED A VOCATION?

ROSE YOUNG

(*Continued from Page* 20.)

What they are saying is that if boards of education will simply not pile special obstacles in the way women are entirely competent to have both. What they are asking is that such boards shall let women have at least as good a chance when it comes to a question of having a baby as when it comes to a question of nursing a sick father. If the teacher-mother has proved anything, she has proved that woman is not going to be shunted off into vocational interests at the expense of her rights of maternity when she wishes to assert those rights. Through the densest opposition and the blindest prejudice the teacher-mother stands out for woman's desire and intention to bear children, let the vocational interest be as keen as it may.

And yet woman is not so blind, I think, to the difficulties in the way of reconciling her great physiological function with her vocational aptitudes. She knows that she has a problem in that. She has always had it. And it has never been easy—and never been too much for her. A teacher-mother of New York has been sharply criticised by men members of the Board of Education, offering to report for work two weeks after her baby was born. Our grandmothers frequently had to report for work two days after their babies were born—and for much harder work than the teacher is called upon to perform.

The problem inherent in the teacher-mother situation is a problem that men can't settle. What men have to do is get out of the way and let women work out their own reconciliation of functional capacity with vocational capacity. As the genius of the twentieth century becomes more fully defined, the full significance and the wide application of this problem are bound to engage more and more of woman's sentiment and conviction. More and more women are bound to refuse to have the question of anything so vital as babies settled by anything so wooden as boards. More and more they are bound to realize that the full answer to woman's needs is not baby or vocation, but baby AND vocation.

WORKING WOMEN Fifth Biennial Convention of National Woman's Trade Union League, June 7-12, 1915, at 43 E. 22nd St., New York City. Meetings Public. This convention represents through its delegates 100,000 organized working women. Mrs. Raymond Robins, President. Headquarters, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago. LIFE AND LABOR official magazine. (23)

HELP WANTED

Volunteers to sell The Woman Voter

We will be glad to hear from

YOU

Any day and every day,

even if you can give us only an hour.

250

"The Crowning Attribute of Lovely Woman is Cleanliness."

NAIAD DRESS SHIELDS

add the final assurance of cleanliness.

FREE FROM RUBBER

Can be quickly **sterilized** in boiling water. All styles and sizes to fit every requirement. Regular. Full Dress, Shirt Waist are made in flesh color. Guarantee with every pair.

Naiad Waterproof Sheeting for the nursery and hospital

The C. E. Conover Co., Mfrs., 101 Franklin St., N. Y.

Wedding Gifts

Reg. Trade Mark

at McCutcheon's

One of the most appropriate gifts for the bride, and one that is always appreciated, is a dainty piece of embroidered or lace decorated Linen for her dining room, boudoir or bedroom.

And if it comes from McCutcheon's, *the greatest treasure house of Linens in America,* there is always added pleasure.

Luncheon Sets—$5.50 to $175.00 per set.

Tea Napkins—$3.00 to $50.00 per dozen.

Luncheon Cloths—$5.00 to $125.00 each.

Tea Cloths — Round and square—$2.50 to $75.00 each.

Lace Luncheon and Dinner Cloths—$25.00 to $350.00 each.

Centerpieces—$3.00 to $135.00 each.

Buffet Searfs—$3.50 to $85.00 each.

Bed Room Table Covers—$1.00 to $9.00 each.

Bureau Searfs—65c to $35.00 each.

Send for Illustrated Booklet.

Mail Orders receive our prompt attention.

Fifth Avenue, 34th and 33d Sts., N. Y.

DAVIE PRESS

Printers

TO THE SUFFRAGE PARTY

304 West 19th St. **Telephone, Chelsea 1193**

EXORA —FACE— POWDER

is the **only** face powder that stays on—one application lasts all day. Guaranteed pure by Prof. Doremus (late of Bellevue Medical College, New York.) Sold everywhere or sent on receipt of price—50c. Specify White, Flesh or Brunette.

Send name and address of your dealer and we will send you Free Samples of Exora Face Powder, Exora Rouge and Exora Cream. Enclose two two-cent stamps for postage and packing. Write to us **now.**

CHAS. MEYER 103-105 WEST 13th ST. **NEW YORK**

HOTEL
Martha Washington

29 East 29th St., near Fifth Ave.

NEW YORK

ADVANTAGES

¶ The 450 bedrooms are for the exclusive use of women guests; the two lower floors containing a magnificent restaurant with orchestral music evenings and the grand lobby and second floor with numerous private parlors are for both men and women.

¶ The service is of that even, careful kind; nearly all the employees are women; the telephone and paging system is developed to a science; the chamber maids are accustomed to assisting guests in their rooms and all the little things necessary to the comfort of a woman traveler can be secured and are offered graciously and at all hours.

¶ To the woman seeking professional, social or business prestige a residence at the Martha Washington is a real asset.

¶ A bright, cheerful room costs $1.50 per day and more for a larger room or one with bath. Meals are served both Table d'Hote and a la Carte. An illustrated booklet sets forth other interesting facts and will be sent free.

Franklin Simon & Co.

FIFTH AVENUE, 37th and 38th Sts., NEW YORK

New Models at Special Prices

Women's Summer Gowns *and* Hats

1101. **Chiffon Taffeta Silk Afternoon Gown** in navy, black, Belgian blue, tan, brown, light grey or white, collar and vestee of white organdie..... **18.50**

1101A. **White Sailor Hat** of fancy straw, trimmed with white roses, and wheat, with standing loops and streamers of grosgrain ribbon..... **9.75**

1103. **White French Cotton Voile Summer Dress** embroidered with eyelets in rose, Copenhagen, lavender, black or all white, hemstitched Quaker collar, cuffs and fold on skirt of white voile, vestee of white organdie, black velvet ribbon girdle **14.50**

1103A. **Poke Hat** of white peanut straw faced with Milan hemp, in white, light blue or pink trimmed with Val. lace ruffles and flower wreath..... **5.95**

1105. **White Cotton Voile Summer Dress** with tan, navy, black, rose or Copenhagen stripe, sleeves of white crepe, pique yoke and cuffs, vestee and collar of white organdie, silk girdle..... **9.75**

1105A. **Shade Hat,** black or white leghorn, with figured silk mull draped around crown, flower trimmed... **5.95**

In ordering any of these be sure to mention The Woman Voter, whether making your purchases by mail or personally